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of Social Problems*

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INTOLERANCE*

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri
President, American Sociological Society (1924)

SOME OF YOU, at least, know that I have long stood for a larger measure of good-will in human relations, than is expressed by the word *tolerance*. But it may well be questioned whether in the present condition of our world it would not be wiser to advocate tolerance in our social life, as a first step, before any higher form of social good-will is aimed at. Last year a public session of our Society was devoted to discussing the question whether or not intolerance is increasing in the United States. While no definite conclusion was reached, all speakers seemed to agree that intolerance was in abundant evidence in almost every phase of American social life. One member of our Society, who had traveled far and wide over the United States to investigate the growth and ramifications of the Ku Klux Klan, sorrowfully said, "I think, we must conclude that we are essentially an intolerant people."

I hope that we shall not be forced to reach any such conclusion. However, no student of our social life would deny that there has been, owing to the world war or other causes, a great growth of many forms of intolerance among our people within the last two decades. In May, 1923, I talked with that veteran publisher, Mr. William Appleton, whom many of you knew and respected. Mr. Appleton, then seventy-eight years of age, had been in intimate contact with public men and public affairs, in both England and the United States, for more than half a century. I

*Presidential Address: American Sociological Society, Dec. 29, 1924.

chanced to ask him whether in his long life he had ever known a period of greater intolerance than the present. He thought a moment and then replied, "No, not even during and directly after our Civil War." Then he instanced how two text books in American history, written by eminent historical scholars, had recently been excluded from the public schools of New York City, because they taught that the American Revolution was a part of the general democratic movement among English-speaking peoples.

Of course, the testimony of one man, no matter how wide his experience, amounts to little. But one meets this testimony regarding the intolerance of our time and country on every hand. A prominent public school teacher from one of the large cities on our Pacific coast has told me that the really able teachers of that city, do not wish to be in the central office for the administration of its schools, because that office can propose nothing progressive in an educational way, especially in the way of social and political education, without being waited upon by representative business men protesting against any innovation. Apparently these business men believe that social and economic education of the children in the schools is fraught with danger.

Similar testimony of intolerance on the part of business men comes from the eminent Boston merchant, Mr. Edward A. Filene. In a recent article,¹ Mr. Filene has said, "Over and over again, in organizations of business men, I have seen successful men turn against and label as dangerous one of their fellows, who was only reasonably progressive. I have seen such men display an utter inability to distinguish between sane social advance and revolutionary socialism."

If one wished detailed evidence for the existence of widespread popular intolerance at the present time, one would

¹ *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1923.

only have to study the rise and phenomenal growth of a vast secret order among us, said to number millions. For this organization, however lofty its pretensions, springs from racial, religious, and political intolerance, and in every community into which it is introduced, it feeds intolerance. Here is an intolerant secret organization which aims at nothing less than the control of our political, economic, and religious life. It is unnecessary to say that its very existence is inconsistent with those professions of religious, political, and racial toleration upon which our government was founded.

It is often said in defense of all these manifestations of intolerance that science itself is intolerant; that when truth is discovered, we cannot tolerate error; that science does not tolerate the belief that two and two make five; that the era of toleration is pre-scientific, and is passing. But this is surely a mistake. One has to acknowledge sorrowfully, to be sure, that often men working in the scientific field have shown an extremely intolerant spirit toward views which differed from their conclusions. But this is not the true spirit of science. On the contrary, the very essence of the scientific spirit is its open-mindedness, and so its tolerance. The scientific spirit is simply the open-minded love of truth. Science exercises no compulsion upon anyone to accept its conclusions except the compulsion of honesty and intelligence. It simply assembles the evidence, the facts, and invites anyone to judge for himself. If any other conclusion is warranted by the facts, science is willing to accept it. Science exercises no authority to make anyone believe even that two and two are four. It simply points to the experience of life as forbidding any other conclusion. As Professor Wolfe has ably shown,² the scientific mind is impersonal, sceptical, critical, tolerant, patient, and fearless in facing facts. It is

² *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method*, p. 222 ff.

unimpressed by social prestige or authority or by social conventions. It is honest and disinterested. The popular mind, on the other hand, is credulous, uncritical, impatient, intolerant, fearful of intellectual changes, conventional, and controlled by personal interest. In other words, intolerance springs largely from ignorance and from the lack of a scientific attitude towards social questions.

But it is not my purpose to set forth the psychological causes of intolerance, nor do I wish even to affirm that it is increasing in the United States. It is rather my wish to inquire into the social effects of intolerance. Were our fore-fathers right in believing that political, economic, religious, and even racial toleration is necessary in a democratic society? Or were they simply under the spell of that worship of the individual, political, and religious liberty which characterized the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries? If we tolerate intolerance, in other words, in any of the important phases of our social life, what effects may we expect? Social science is surely far enough advanced to answer clearly this question.

I would like to point out at the beginning that the essence of social intolerance is to be found in the suppression of the free expression of opinions upon social, political, and economic questions. When people dare no longer communicate their opinions, when they fear to state their grievances, when they are not at liberty to educate one another by free and open discussion, then indeed we have the essence of intolerance; for freedom of thinking, of belief, and of communication is the very essence of personal freedom. The studies of sociologists and social psychologists have conclusively demonstrated that the mechanism of intercommunication is the normal means by which a group readjusts its behavior. Through intercommunication it is possible for a stimulus which affects only a few members of the group to be diffused throughout the

whole group. Therefore the mechanism of intercommunication in a group functions very much the same as the nervous system functions in the individual. It is an organ of adaptation. If its free working is interfered with, normal readjustment is rendered difficult, if not impossible. Freedom of intercommunication is not therefore so much an individual right as a necessity for a healthy group life; or rather, it is a precious individual right, precisely because it is a necessity for normal social life.

That we may see that this is no mere analogy, let us outline in a few words how intercommunication works to mediate and control the process of readjustment in a human group. Public criticism is a process of discrimination of whatever is wrong or whatever is unadjusted in the habits of a group. In other words, public criticism marks the bad working of some social custom or institution. It discriminates the elements which are working badly, and these discriminations are communicated to the whole group for its judgment. Discussion of the situation then develops in the group. At first this discussion is of a critical nature, but later the discussion, if allowed to proceed freely, normally takes a constructive direction. In the discussion many ideas come into competition and are tested out. Wrong ideas have their weaknesses shown, new ideas are stimulated, the useful as well as the detrimental elements in the old situation are discriminated, and gradually constructive views get formulated and new policies approved. Thus we have the formation of a group opinion which becomes the basis for a new adjustment in group behavior.

This is the mechanism of conscious social change under normal conditions in a human group. It has characterized all human groups from primitive times, and it is slowly perfecting itself at the present time. Probably the chief argument for democracy is that it frees and develops this process of conscious social change through develop-

ment of a social consciousness and a public opinion in the whole group. Obviously freedom of intercommunication is fundamental in this process.

If the process of public discussion is to be effective in helping groups to find solutions for their problems, freedom of thought and freedom of speech must be preserved. Where public criticism of social habits and institutions is not tolerated, it is evident that their faults cannot be brought to the attention of the group. Tolerance of criticism is therefore the first condition of conscious social change, or rational social adjustment. It is only through such tolerance that there can be in a group the greatest opportunity for the cooperative working of intelligence in the building up of habits, institutions, and policies. Only thus can grievances of individuals and classes be brought to public attention and the richest results of experience brought to bear upon a given social situation. Only thus accordingly, is there the greatest chance of a wise and rational solution of public problems. It is not an accident, therefore, that those civilized societies which have maintained the best conditions for free intercommunication, free public discussion, and free formation of public opinion have been, on the whole, most progressive, and have shown the most normal, uninterrupted social development. In other words those societies which have been most tolerant, politically, religiously, industrially, have shown, so far as can be judged by rational standards, the most normal social development.

Let us now look upon the other side, and notice the effects of intolerance of public criticism and of free discussion of public questions upon the life of a group. We shall pass over its effects upon individual character. Suffice to say that it is notorious that an intolerant social atmosphere produces sycophancy, hypocrisy, moral cowardice, and other undesirable traits of character in individuals; for in

such an atmosphere the individual cannot remain true to his conscience, intellectually honest, and sincere; but in order to prosper, has to become a mere conformist to the order which surrounds him. With these individual effects of social intolerance, however, we are not now concerned, but only with its larger social aspects.

First of all, we have to note, that there is little chance for progress in an intolerant group. Progress or change in such a group can only come through the grace of its governing class; and usually a governing class is interested in maintaining conditions as they are. Therefore, a static condition of society is apt to result. But to understand exactly why this is so, let us look at this matter a little more closely. All changes in a human group, so far as we know, are initiated by variations in the reactions of individuals. In other words, changes start in human groups with variations in feeling, thought, and behavior of individuals. Some of these variations may, of course, be harmful to the group, and for that matter to the development of the social life of humanity. But when all innovation along a given line tends to be repressed, there is no way of testing out whether the variation is a useful one or not. The experience of mankind has shown, therefore, that the variant individual should be regarded with tolerance by his group; for only the rational consideration of his innovations by the whole group can test out their value. Moreover, modern societies have found that unlikeness in individuals is frequently as valuable as likeness for purposes of division of labor, group organization, and group action. Too great uniformity in individual character, opinion, and behavior is, therefore, not desirable in a civilized society. Moreover, sociologists would agree that the limits of differences which are socially valuable, and so should be tolerated, are much greater than what the popular mind supposes. For these reasons a society which does not tolerate freedom of thought and

freedom of expression in individuals is bound, not only to become static, but to lessen its efficiency as a group in a number of directions. The surest way to promote social progress, in other words, is to keep social institutions plastic by encouraging within reasonable limits the innovating individual, by keeping open the channels of intercommunication and of public criticism, and by seeing that every new idea and policy has a fair chance to be tested out in the forum of public discussion. On the other hand, the surest way to stop all social progress and to insure a static civilization is to discourage the innovating individual, to frown upon public criticism of established institutions, and to close so far as possible, channels for the spread of new ideas. That the world has approximated this static condition in various times and places, the history of the Middle Ages in Europe and of Asiatic civilization abundantly attests.

Another result of social intolerance is that it tends to divide a group into misunderstanding, hostile classes. Intolerance of any sort bars the way to that sympathetic understanding of individuals and classes which is the first step toward appreciation, socialization, and voluntary co-operation. If we want to assimilate any element into our group, as for example, the foreign-born, we must maintain an attitude of tolerance towards them; for any intolerance shown them is almost certain to create in them attitudes which will hinder their assimilation. Moreover, intolerance keeps individuals and classes apart, and breeds misunderstanding between them. They have no opportunity to talk over their differences, and when men cannot settle their differences by discussion, they are apt to resort to fighting. Intolerance, in other words, tends to breed war within the group and ultimately group disruption. I shall return to this point again when I consider the cause of the great civil disorders of our time.

Another result of an intolerant social atmosphere is the effect which it has upon those who are in charge of the machinery of social control of the group, that is, upon officials in church, in state, and in industry. Such officials reflect, often in an exaggerated way, the intolerant spirit of the group which they represent. They become apprehensive and frightened at the least failure of individuals to conform to the standards which have been set up; hence they inaugurate a policy of repression which, sooner or later, arouses resentment and resistance in some part of the group. By repression I mean any policy which constantly thwarts the expression of natural impulses and tendencies on the part of individuals. If such thwarting seems natural and inevitable, as when caused by hard conditions of life, by famine, or by public calamity, it is usually endured by the people with patience. This may be true even under a governmental system, which is strongly supported by a tradition that is regarded as more or less sacred, especially when there is comparatively little popular enlightenment. But when institutional repression is conceived of as arbitrary or unnecessary, it arouses resentment and resistance, and in certain elements of the group the attitude of resistance develops until finally the supreme end of life becomes, for these elements, the doing away with the repression. It is in this way that societies often make enemies for themselves. This is especially apt to be the case if expressions against the repressing institution and statements of grievances are not tolerated.

We are now prepared to see the full social effects of intolerance in a dynamic society, such as ours is. As Professor Wolfe has said in effect,³ in a static society, intolerance, and a policy of repression may result merely in submissive conformity, but, "in a dynamic state, no such

³ *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method*, p. 142.

policy can succeed. In the long run it will produce catastrophic revolution in the place of evolutionary readaptation." In other words, in a dynamic society intolerance which results in a policy of repression, if long continued, produces revolution. The reasons for this are clear. A dynamic society is one necessarily in constant readjustment with its environment. The law of its life is change. Such changes, however, as we have seen, can take place only through the initiative of individuals, through free communication of stimuli and ideas throughout the group, and through the free formation of a new group opinion. If the expression of ideas on the part of the individuals in this process is repressed, the machinery of social readjustment is interfered with, and the whole group is apt to be thrown out of equilibrium. While the dissatisfaction at first may be confined to a few individuals, it is bound sooner or later to spread to the mass of the group. A policy of repression, in other words, in a dynamic group, destroys the plasticity of the group, and so destroys the basis of its security.

This theory of the origin of social revolutions was perhaps never better expressed than when President Wilson said in one of his public addresses, "Repression is the seed of revolution." It is not too much to say that this pregnant phrase nearly expresses the modern psychological and sociological view. All scientific psychological study of the effects of repression upon the individual has substantiated this theory. Nevertheless, this "repression theory of revolutions,"⁴ as we may call it, has not received wide-spread acceptance, probably because it seems to throw the burden of responsibility for causing revolutions upon the conservative and ruling classes. The spokesmen of these classes

⁴The theory was outlined by the writer in his *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects* (1912), pp. 163-173, and in his *Introduction to Social Psychology* (1917), pp. 170-183.

have often said, on the other hand, that revolutions are caused by the false hopes that are awakened among the masses by Utopian thinkers, who present impossible social ideals. Because of these ideals, people become discontented, and this discontent with existing institutions is gradually diffused among the ignorant masses through the force of suggestion and imitation until at last these ignorant masses develop an attitude of revolt. They cite as an example the Russian revolution. It will be noted that this theory assumes that the mass of the people are irrational and may be made discontented by agitators merely by suggestion and imitation, when they have no rational ground for discontent. The theory assumes a force to suggestion and imitation in the social life which critical psychology and sociology do not find that they possess. While it is true that the mass of men have no highly developed rationality, yet on the other hand, men are inert creatures of habit, and rarely manifest discontent, especially in the extreme form of the attitude of revolt, without considerable cause. We have no evidence which warrants the belief that masses of men get discontented over vain imaginings, or can be easily stampeded by suggestions which are not in line with the situation in which they find themselves. Men rarely undertake civil war between classes, any more than between nations, without considerable incitement to conflict; in other words, without serious grievances. Utopian and radical thinkers do not cause revolutions, but rather voice discontent which already exists. They may further revolutionary movements, but they do not cause them. Such movements are caused by the discontent which naturally arises from the thwarting of human impulses and desires. In other words, the real cause, or stimulus, which provokes the revolution must be always sought in the system of social control. When that system is immobile, inflexible, and especially when it becomes

repressive of free expression on the part of individuals, that is, when it interferes with the free functioning of the process of intercommunication, of group discussion, with the formation of group opinion, and the determination of group policies, it is bound sooner or later to bring about dissatisfaction and revolt in the masses of the people.*

It has been the pride of English-speaking people, from the days of Magna Charta to the present, that they have learned to settle their racial and political questions by discussion rather than by fighting. But there seems just at present some danger that this great tradition of our democracy may be forgotten. We seem about to lose our faith in open public discussion as a means of settling social, political and economic disputes. Not only in Europe, but in the United States also, there is evidence of a trend towards thinking that public questions can be settled by force or coercion. Hence, in spite of the fact that modern psychology unites with social science in demonstrating the futility and danger of this method, there has been a growth of popular intolerance, which favors repression and coercion as a means of settling problems.

What is the remedy? The one radical remedy for the spirit of intolerance and the dangers with which it threatens us, as Professor Wolfe points out, is the conversion of our people to the scientific attitude. Nothing short of the diffusion of the scientific attitude can free our people from that control by selfish personal and class interests, which renders them intolerant towards new ideas and towards every proposed change. The impersonal open-mindedness and intellectual honesty of the scientific spirit is absolutely necessary for a people who undertake to rule themselves through rational public opinion. If we still find evidence at times of a spirit of intolerance among those who profess

* EDITOR'S NOTE: We are here compelled, from lack of space, to omit illustrations which Professor Ellwood uses at this point.

the scientific attitude, it must be said that this is because they have acquired it only in part, and not towards every phase of life.

It must be acknowledged, however, that tolerance helps the development of the scientific spirit quite as much as the scientific spirit develops tolerance. "What makes a Liberal," Professor Gilbert Murray has said, "is liberality towards new ideas and towards opponents, readiness to hear reason, and anxiety not to be misled by prejudice, nor to fall back on mere authority or coercion." Surely such liberalism is a long step towards the scientific attitude. The alliance of liberalism and science is, therefore, not an accident. Science, no more than democracy, can afford to tolerate intolerance.

As scientific men, as well as patriotic citizens, we have every reason to oppose intolerance, and to do all we can to promote tolerance. Hardly any of us, I imagine, would deny that the supreme values of human life lie in intelligence, in good-will towards our fellow-men, and in the good-will of others towards us. Intolerance means the negation of all these values. Tolerance, on the other hand, furthers their realization. We all recognize that tolerance is a means of developing a broader emotional life. Should we not equally recognize that it is indispensable for the development of a truly broad intellectual life, and so for the spread of that scientific attitude among our people, which must be the hope of the future?



THE PRESIDENT of one of our most successful colleges said to me not long ago: "Most men have no fundamental desire to get at the truth of things. If they had, no Republican would neglect to read Democratic newspapers, in order to get the opposite point of view. Democrats would do likewise." Filene, *A Merchant's Horizon*, p. 214.

A CHINESE VILLAGE SURVEY

JAMES Q. DEALEY

*Professor of Social and Political Science
Brown University*

CHINA, in its present era of transition, is often called the land of contrasts, as the many contacts are noted that arise between the old and the new. Yet the real China is not the China of the concession city, where foreign influence predominates, but the innumerable mass of villages scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land.

In these farming villages, which are practically autonomous, are firmly entrenched the family and the clan, devoted to ancestor worship and to those ancient traditions and customs that have for so many centuries determined the character of Chinese civilization. In these villages, many of which are walled, live more than three-fourths of the whole population, going out to their fields throughout the day and returning to the village bounds at night for rest and social intercourse.

Some of the villages that are located near the great concession cities respond to the call of the cities and send many of their workers into the rapidly multiplying mills, controlled for the most part by foreign corporations; others again are slowly being absorbed into the expanding areas and must meet the problem of adaptation to urban conditions.

Shanghai College, a missionary organization supported largely by American Baptists, is situated some seven miles east of Shanghai in the direction of the city of Woosun, and is in the midst of a farming section on an alluvial plain now rapidly filling up with mills mostly engaged in

the manufacture of textiles. Brown University has a "Brown -in-China" interest in Shanghai College, aiding in the support of the department of sociology and sending at suitable intervals a member of the sociological faculty to live in residence so as to familiarize himself with social conditions in China. The writer, for example, spent part of the year 1921 at Shanghai College, and Professor Harold S. Bucklin has just returned after a year in residence.

In 1921 the many students of Shanghai College who were deeply interested in social teachings called attention to the problems of the Chinese village and sought advice that might help in the improvement of the situation. Fortunately there was an ancient village, known as Sung-Ka-Hong, some two miles away from the college grounds and this was selected for study and improvement. There was no school in the village but the need for one was so obvious that an organization was formed which raised the necessary funds to establish a school, and this was opened in the fall of 1921, affording thus an excellent opportunity for further study and for intimate contacts with the villagers. On the arrival of Professor Bucklin from Brown in the fall of 1923, a village survey was planned and made systematically throughout the school year, on the basis of which a series of recommendations was formulated as a program for village improvement. This survey in its completed form was published (in Chinese) during the summer of 1924 by the *Commercial Press* of Shanghai and is to be sold at low rates through the numerous branches of that great organization. As this is the first printed social survey of a Chinese village, it is hoped that it will stimulate an interest throughout China in village life and improvement.

The village of Sung-Ka-Hong is typical of the many villages of China. It has its long street of small shops, many of which are devoted to handicraft industries. Hous-

ing is congested and the population, once entirely agricultural, is turning steadily to the industries owing to the attraction of employment in the mills nearer Shanghai. In the mills of China the hours are long, accidents are numerous, and the pay wretched, but the work seems attractive by comparison with the toil and extreme poverty of farming employment. The village has neither sewerage nor water system, relying for water supply on several wells and adjacent ditches or canals. Water is not so abundant that it can be *wasted* for purposes of cleanliness and it is contaminated by sewage, thus increasing the sickness and death rates, although no records of these are kept. No native doctor is resident but two shops sell the herbs and medicines used from time immemorial. The patient in the choice of these is aided by the temple priest who has him draw lots to determine the right medicine. Night soil is used for fertilizer, thus multiplying contagion, but numerous fierce dogs keep down the filth of the streets by acting as scavengers. The villagers, as in most Chinese villages, are an enlarged family group, for the most part desperately poor, but having among them the gentry, or slightly wealthier inhabitants, leaders in the life of the village and in charge of its religious, administrative, and economic activities. Naturally the cooperation of these was the first thing to be gained, and this was secured through their interest in the work of the school and through the eagerness of their children for additional education.

The work of the survey was practically all done by Chinese students who, being familiar with village life and Chinese character, might more easily win confidence and gain information from those ever suspicious of strangers. Through these, studies were made of, — the Family, Religious Life, Government and Corrections, Housing, Industry, Agriculture and Trade, Recreation, Education. Series of questions were carefully worked out and these

were made simple and concrete so as to be easily comprehended. These typical questions are printed in the volume as an appendix. Replies to the questions were obtained gradually through observation and conversation and by manifesting a friendly interest in the village life. A surveyor, for example, might suggest slight changes in the direction of improvement and thus elicit a comment and discussion on existing situations. In their written reports, which form the basis of the printed volume, though wretched conditions were carefully set forth, they were not exaggerated, and stress was placed on the better aspects of the village and on those improvements of immediate importance and most readily made.

In the constructive suggestions that form part of each chapter no attempt was made to plan for a distant future but rather to indicate a policy for the next few years. In general, the suggestions for Sung-Ka-Hong aim to prepare the villagers for a changing economic life when the mill section approaches their boundaries, and indicate the feasibility of becoming a trading center for the coming mill population. In preparation for such a change, better conditions in health and sanitation are advised and increasing facilities for education are vigorously stressed, so that the boys will be trained for the newer vocations that will be thrust on the village within the next few years. The program appeals to the economic and educational interests of the villagers, always powerful in a Chinese population, and stimulates a civic interest. In all this the School is emphasized as the community center so as to utilize the help of the scholars themselves as those through whom new ideas may best be carried into the homes. Political and religious situations are discussed diplomatically, so as not to arouse antagonism on the part of those in control of these functions.

In conclusion, it may be said that the Chinese students

who made the survey and who sustain the work, showed great constructive ability and insight into social situations and should in later years develop into a social leadership for China. In their planning they had in mind not merely the benefits that may accrue to Sung-Ka-Hong; they also sought in their idealism to work out a model for village improvement that would stimulate similar movements in other villages throughout China. Copies of the Survey will find their way into many a village tea house, where men congregate during the evening hours, and it is believed that the more enterprising among the gentry and teachers will gradually catch the idea of improvement, and that each in his own village will thus start influences that will slowly prepare the mass of Chinese for the inevitable changes of later years.



IN THEORY, the State exists to promote the general interest; in historical fact, governments have sought to promote, first and foremost, the interests of the governing class. Even where they have aimed at the common good, their view of the nature of that good has been determined by class institutions and prejudices. Brown, *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*, p. 9.

BUSINESS is no respecter of persons in the matter of commercial invasion. As the wealthy home must move out of the way, so the poor must move or be squeezed; and it is the squeezed portion of the population and the squeezing phenomenon that arrests our attention and causes our outburst, protest, and demand to zone the city against dwelling. The tragedy of the case is not in being driven out by business but in remaining and having the life of the home squeezed out by business. *Rural Social Problems*, pp. 152-152. Charles Josiah Galpin (Century, 1924).

CONFLICT AND COOPERATION IN SOCIAL PROGRESS*

CLARENCE MARSH CASE

Professor of Sociology, University of Southern California

THE RELATION between conflict and cooperation presents one of the most fundamental and far-reaching problems of sociology, usually discussed hitherto by sociologists with rather exclusive emphasis on one or the other of its aspects.¹ On the whole, it might be said that the conflict theorists had the first word in sociological thinking, and the notion of the importance of conflict, even including war, dominated sociological theory for many years. The leaders in this field of thought were Gumpłowicz and Ratzenhofer, both of them natives of Central Europe, where a turmoil of nations, loosely held together under successive conquests, made conflict appear to be the principal social process. The teaching of these Austrians was adopted by Lester F. Ward, and got its hold in American sociological thinking in consequence of his very great influence in that field. Sumner also supported the same idea in his *War, and Other Essays*, while Giddings is not entirely free from emphasizing it in the concluding essay of his *Democracy and Empire*, — this chapter being entitled "The Gospel of Non-Resistance."

Farther back this whole line of thought rests upon a somewhat gross misinterpretation and false emphasis

* Remarks at the California State Conference for Social Work, May, 1924.

¹ The principal contributions from both sides will be found summed up in Chapter XX, on "Conflict Theories in Sociology," and Chapter XXI, on "Cooperation Theories in Sociology," *A History of Social Thought*, by Emory S. Bogardus, 1922.

which was placed by biologists first, and later by social thinkers, upon certain aspects of the Darwinian theory of evolution. According to this misinterpretation of that theory the fundamental law of life is one of individual struggle not only by members of different species but also by members of the same species. This has been taught by biologists for decades, in their loose utterances if not on their definite intention, and has come to be part of the every-day philosophy of multitudes. This philosophy is summed up in the saying — "Dog eat dog," which is commonly used to justify all kinds of aggression and oppression in social and international life. The fact is, however, that this is a gross misinterpretation of the facts of nature. Dog never eats dog, and lion does not eat lion; neither does tiger eat tiger. The only creature voracious enough to kill members of his own species is man himself. He has sunken so low at times as actually to devour bodies of his fellow humans, under what we know as cannibalism. Later this was softened into slavery, by which system the master eats his slave many times over in the course of his lifetime, by devouring his product and by sometimes working him to death. In modern times slavery has been softened, first into wage slavery, and more recently into profiteering in all its luxuriant developments.

Nothing of this kind, however, takes place between animals of the same species, as has been shown with tremendous array of evidence by so distinguished a naturalist and sociologist as Prince Kropotkin in his notable work *Mutual Aid*. According to Kropotkin the members of no animal species prey upon one another, but constantly support and assist one another by many most marvelous devices and arrangements for cooperation, or as he calls it, "mutual aid." It is therefore a gross libel to speak of man as falling to the level of the brute. Far from falling to the level of the brute it would be necessary for human beings

who destroy and devour one another to reach up in order to touch bottom, for they are far below the level of the brute in such matters. It is taken as evidence of scandalous ferocity of temper when one hears it remarked among us that somebody fell to the level of a brute, but it must be a much more scandalous thing among animals to hear it whispered that one of them fell to the level of a human.

The distinguished African naturalist and hunter, Mr. Carl Akeley, gives some very interesting information concerning lions, which have been counted among the most ferocious of animals, delighting in bloodshed and slaughter to a degree almost equal to that of the social Darwinian himself. Let us take at random a few sentences from his chapter on lions, in his book, *In Brightest Africa*. Says Mr. Akeley: "The lion is very much the same as other animals in that he kills other animals for food, and not having developed any specialized industry, like the packers, each lion kills for himself. . . . His intention is to get his food the easiest and quickest way. . . . When he has captured his animal the lion will eat and then lie near it perhaps all night, perhaps all the next day, if he is not disturbed, eating as he desires . . . and as the lion kills for food and not for sport he is content with one kill as long as the meat lasts. . . . Practically every one who has had experience with them will agree that they are not savage in the sense of killing for the mere sake of killing. . . . Even when forced to fight the lion is not vindictive. If an elephant gets a man he is likely to trample on him and mutilate him even after he is dead. I have never known of lions doing this. On the other hand, as soon as the man is dead, and often as soon as he is quiet, they will let him alone. The game animals on which the lion is accustomed to feed carry out this characteristic. They know that the lion kills for food at night and they likewise know that he kills only for food, so in the daytime

they do not bother about lions particularly. I have seen lions trot through a herd of game within easy striking distance of many of the animals without causing any disturbance."²

The conclusion from the evidence indicated above is that the current social philosophy which justifies war upon the notion that it is simply an expression of the universal struggle for existence indicated by Darwin is utterly and hopelessly false, without the slightest foundation in the facts of animal life — much more without any foundation in ethics or truly human ideals. As a corollary, the sociology of war and conflict which ran current up to the time of the World War is practically worthless, and since there is a vast deal of it, it will happily unburden our sociological shelves when the mass of it is recognized as fit only for the rubbish heap. The fundamental error in it consists in the assumption cited above, and the further fact that most thinkers among social scientists in all fields have overlooked the truth which is now forcing itself upon us, namely, that war has completely changed its character since 1914. That is to say, it has become so destructive that none of the things that were said about war before that time would hold true concerning the institution in its new aspects. We read of Richard the Lionhearted carrying twenty pounds of steel in his battle axe, and we have been entertained by the stories of the exploits of the knights of old on a thousand battlefields, but we have overlooked the fact that they stood up all afternoon, or rode around on horseback, securely clad in something resembling a modern kitchen range, and battered each other until sunset without doing much more damage than a lively football game in the early days of that modern sport. In other words, those combats were comparatively harmless, while with modern

² Akeley, *In Brightest Africa*, pp. 58-62.

methods of slaughter, such as will be used in the next war undoubtedly, more people, including women and children as well as men, and civilians at that, will be slain in thirty minutes than were destroyed during all the combats of the entire Middle Ages. In the face of these facts the prattle about war as an expression of the universal law of life is grotesque.

But while many sociologists have fallen into this false line of thought, there have not been lacking those who perceive the futility of such reasoning. We have already mentioned Kropotkin, and the names of Ross, Ellwood, Novisow, Small, Cooley, Hobhouse and others should be mentioned. These writers have stressed a truth equally great, namely, that cooperation is a fundamental process of all life, particularly human life. Professor Cooley, in his analysis of this subject, as in all his writings, is especially penetrating. He says: . . . "It is possible rudely to classify hostilities in three parts, according to the degree of mental organization they involve." "These are as follows: (1) primary, immediate, or animal; (2) social, imaginative, or personal of a comparatively direct sort, that is, without reference to any standard of justice; (3) rational or ethical; similar to the last but involving reference to a standard of justice and the sanction of conscience."³

The problem of personal and social advancement is to raise hostility from the lower to the higher level so that it will express itself less and less in the personal or brutal forms and take on more that of the rational or ethical. We need not hope to see perfect harmony and unanimity attained in society. In fact, we should not desire this. It would be hard to imagine anything more deadly dull than to live in a world where one had to agree with everybody else. Disagreement is fundamental for the attainment of

³ Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, p. 239.

a higher potentiality of thought and action. Conflict also has its permanent place in human affairs. The only question is how to refine and turn it toward constructive ends by constructive methods. As sociologists have pointed out, it is possible for one to live in any group only because of the fact that one retains the right of criticism and protest, or of disagreement in some form or other. There are many groups which would be blown to pieces by an explosion of repressed emotion and passion, if for a sufficient length of time unanimity of action were enforced, so that one should find no means of registering his dissent, and if at the same time he were prevented from withdrawal. It is only by means of withdrawal, either actually, i. e., physically, or by a kind of non-physical withdrawal, in which one simply maintains no social contacts with the offending persons or groups, that life becomes endurable at all in certain situations. One can live in a big city, for example, along with people following practices and standards one may utterly detest, simply because one maintains the right of dissenting from their ways or views in word or in deed, either passively or actively. The way, then, to maintain social life upon a basis of disagreement and conflict is to provide more and different forms of expression and a wider range of action, so that the individual may choose his own associates and alliances, and through these alliances, or in person, come into conflict and struggle with other persons and groups, opposing vigorously but not destructively; or in other words, lift conflict from the merely physical to the social, rational, and ethical levels. It is only under such circumstances that society can function on the highest level of potentiality.

Now, a word about non-cooperation. When one studies the movement led by Mahatma Gandhi in India, and similar movements in history, both current and ancient, notably the boycott of American merchants against British

tea and other goods in Revolutionary times, one comes to realize the tremendous social importance of non-cooperation under certain circumstances. Gandhi, bare-foot and bare-handed, a humble, poorly clad ascetic, the meekest of mortals in his personal behavior, has recently led the millions of his Indian fellow-citizens in a non-cooperative protest against British domination which nearly overthrew the Empire in India. A great sociological truth may be learned from this movement, and that is that the fundamental law of life is, after all, cooperation, so fundamental that every form of exploitation and tyranny requires for its continued existence the tacit cooperation of even the victims themselves. When the victims cease to cooperate the oppressors must fall. So, after all, the fundamental thing is cooperation and organization.

This leads to another process, which Sumner called antagonistic cooperation, such as that between employer and employee, between teacher and pupil, and in the domestic circle, as typified by the cartoonist in the well-known story of Andy Gump and Min. In all such cases there is a more or less superficial antagonism, mutual criticism, or other form of conflict, which rests upon a still more fundamental community of interest and unity of purpose. Examination of the law of society will reveal the fact that a vast deal of our harmonious existence is in forms of the antagonistic cooperation just described.

War, the most destructive form of conflict, will have to be eliminated by the application of both non-cooperation and cooperation. The more negative method is exemplified in the agreement of the International Metal Workers to refuse to make or handle munitions in the event of a declaration of war; in the proposed resolutions by which the churches would withdraw their support from all war; and in the extraordinary Non-Cooperation movement led by Gandhi in India. Beyond this, it may prove necessary

for the masses in all lands to form a World Peace Union, pledging themselves to paralyze war by refusing to take part in it, not to cooperate with it in any way. This would be a drastic measure, made necessary only by the blind persistence of small-minded politicians, who perpetuate an evil tradition among nations in the interest, consciously or unconsciously, of profiteers in all lands.

But beyond these temporary, negative measures lies the great task of promoting *cooperation* among the nations in positive ways. This means a World Court, a World League, and a determined policy of working together along economic and cultural lines. By cooperating, which literally means "working together," the nations will come to understand each other, and that will mark the end of race prejudice, hostility, and war.

Prince Kropotkin, in his great work, *Mutual Aid*, anticipated our most recent thought on this problem of international organization when he said: "In the practice of mutual aid, which we can trace to the earliest beginnings of evolution, we thus find the positive and undoubted origin of our ethical conceptions; and we can affirm that in the ethical progress of man, mutual support — not mutual struggle — has had the leading part. In its wide extension, even at the present time, we also see the best guarantee of a still loftier evolution of our race."



IF YOU were to go from city to city and photograph all the surroundings of homes caught in the claws of the city squeeze, you would be astounded at how the human family has been pressed out of semblance to a human home by the business squeeze. Squeezed between buildings, squeezed below ground, squeezed skyward, squeezed to the alley, squeezed against the street! And every squeeze a suffocation of the home. *Rural Social Problems*, p. 153. Charles Josiah Galpin (Century, 1924).

THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN CHINA AND ITS MEANING

GUY W. SARVIS

Professor of Sociology, University of Nanking, China

ON THE basis of a number of recent studies we may conclude that the average annual per capita income of the poorest seventy-five per cent of the population of China does not exceed \$10 to \$15 per year in United States currency. These studies have been made on the family basis and it has been found that in the rural districts, at any rate, small incomes went with relatively small families. This is probably due to the fact that the large family in China frequently includes a number of relatives in addition to father, mother, and children. The distribution of population with reference to the size of the families in a study of 7,000 families recently made by the China International Famine Relief Committee (Series E, No. 10) is indicated in the following table:

TABLE I

1486 persons lived in families of	2
3300 persons lived in families of	3
5000 persons lived in families of	4
5950 persons lived in families of	5
4914 persons lived in families of	6
3584 persons lived in families of	7
2648 persons lived in families of	8
2124 persons lived in families of	9
1490 persons lived in families of	10

The remainder lived alone or in families of more than ten.
The average number of persons per family was 5.24.

The study covered four widely separated areas in northern and central China and included 37,000 persons. Statistical accuracy is not claimed for the figures in this study, but if they are even 50 per cent in error, the conclusions of this article would not be greatly affected. Of the families studied the income of more than half was less than \$25 per year. It will be evident, then, that the estimate of \$10 to \$15 per capita is high rather than low. Every effort was made to insure that the study should represent a fair cross-section of the rural population of the country. The income includes home products valued on the basis of the price received for the portion sold. These home products constituted about seventy-five per cent of the total income. Other studies are in substantial agreement with the above.

These figures, however, are not significant unless the minimum standard of living be defined. A number of persons working independently have concluded that \$30 per year represents a minimum standard for a family of five persons consuming barely enough for the maintenance of health. Professor Dittmer¹ thus explains this minimum standard: "This means that they can have enough food, though simple and poor, live in a house that will at least shelter them from the elements, have at least two suits of clothes, have enough fuel so that they do not have to go out and gather it, and have \$2.50 left over for miscellaneous expenses, which will give them meat on feast days and tea quite often, almost every week, while if there is no sickness they can even make a trip to the Temple Fair back in the mountains."

Prof. J. B. Taylor of Peking Christian University, basing his minimum standard on a diet table prepared by Professor Bernard E. Read of Peking Union Medical College, puts the minimum standard at \$75 per year per family

¹ *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 33, Nov. 1918.

of five. That amount is necessary for the purchase of the food alone which is called for in Professor Read's table, which follows:

TABLE II

DIET OF A NORTH CHINA FARMING FAMILY OF FIVE PERSONS

NOTE: *Inadequate* and *Adequate* are indicated in Table II by capital letters *I* and *A*.

	Amount	Grains	Protein	Proteins Essential for Growth	L. C. T.	Salt	Vitamin I	Vitamin II	Vitamin III	Roughage	Calories
GRAINS											
Kaoliang -----	48 oz.	104.4	I	I	A	A	A	A	A	A	4800
Millet -----	24 oz.	113.0	I	I	A	A	A	A	A	A	2592
Wheat -----	32 oz.	213.6	A	I	A	A	A	A	A	A	v268
VEGETABLES											
Turnips, etc.-----	8 oz.	3.0		A	A						104
Soy beans-----	7 oz.	82.3		A	A						819
FRUITS and GREENS											
Cabbage in winter---	16 oz.	5.6		A				A			68
Sesame oil-----	8 oz.			A				A			1980
Sauce -----	2 oz.	4.5									52
Tea -----											
TOTAL	oz.	445.4	I	I	A	A	A	A	A	A	13683

As a matter of fact a large proportion of the farmers in North China eat only the cheapest of the grains, *kaoliang*, and rarely consume beans, oil, sauce, or tea, and on very many days eat no fruits and greens at all.

It may be worth while to put beside these figures the statement of the Famine Relief Committee on wages in four typical districts:

TABLE III

WAGES IN TYPICAL RURAL DISTRICTS

District	Daily		Monthly	Yearly
	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Busy Season</i>		
I.	10c	15c 20c		\$20-\$25
II.	8c	10c	\$1.50	\$15
III.	4c	7½c	?	\$3-6.00 and food
IV.	3½c	10c	?	\$5-6.50 and food

Wages have a very significant bearing on the standard of living, but of course, do not include domestic production. However, if the family has no land, there is very little home industry in rural districts except cooking and the making of farm and household implements and shoes and clothing. There is some straw-braid, hair-net, weaving, and lace-making industry in rural districts in north and central China. S. L. Gamble² puts the average monthly wage of workmen in the domestic industries at \$2.75 per month with food and lodging. M. T. Tchou, in an article for the *National Christian Council* in 1922, gives as the average wages for unskilled labor in factories in Shanghai, the greatest commercial and factory center in China, \$4.50 per month without food and lodging (which can hardly be secured in Shanghai for less than \$1.75 per month). The striking difference between rural and urban conditions will be noticed, but the cost of living is proportionately higher in the cities.

As a further indication of economic conditions, the following table of interest rates is quoted from the Famine Relief Committee's publication:

TABLE IV
THE RATE OF INTEREST IN RURAL CHINA

District	Monthly High	Interest Low	Rate Average
I.	5-6%	1%	2-3%
II.	2%	1%	1.6-1.7%
III.	5%	1.5%	3%
IV.	3%	1%	3%

The main significance of the table is in its indication of wide variation of the interest rate and in the high rates reported. Those who are familiar with conditions among the poor in our cities in America will recognize that the same conditions exist there, as they do in all groups where

² *Peking, A Social Survey*, p. 183.

poverty is prevalent and where the "money market" is local and largely personal. I should say that three per cent per month is probably the commonest rate on short time loans. At the same time municipal bonds of Shanghai (governed by an international municipal council), bearing six per cent payable semi-annually, sell in the market very readily at 98-100. These are among the best securities offered in China.

Income returns were secured from 6,000 of the 7,000 families investigated by the Famine Relief Committee. The total income reported was \$532,685. Of this amount, 25 per cent went to 8 per cent of the richest families, i. e., to 48 of the 6,000. Eleven of the 48 received a total of \$81,341, and each of these 11 received more than \$2,500. It should be remembered that these figures are for rural districts. There are manufacturers in the commercial and industrial centers (of which there are perhaps a score of importance) whose annual income is counted in tens and hundreds of thousands. There are officials in the provincial capitals and in Peking who amass fortunes of millions of dollars in a few years. Probably 85 per cent of the population of China, however, is engaged in, or directly dependent upon, agriculture. The only professional class of importance outside the large cities is teachers. Country school teachers receive \$75-\$125, although many of them run private schools for less than \$50 per year. Men who have received modern college training in China and are able to teach English receive \$300-\$500 annually. High school graduates receive from \$125-\$175. Returned students with a doctor's degree from America receive \$800-\$1,200. The expenses of a college student in the most expensive institutions amount to \$200-\$250. The number of modern-trained teachers is very small in proportion to the population.

These facts stated are not presented as an inclusive state-

ment of the standard of living, but as supplying data which will enable the reader to form a general impression of conditions in the country as a whole. Amounts have been translated from local currency to United States currency at the current rate of exchange. The data are chiefly from North and East China, but probably represent a high average, for there is extreme poverty in the southwest and northwest. Exact statistics are lacking in reference to most social facts in China, but, with many local exceptions, I am convinced that the picture given is substantially accurate. Unquestionably the majority of the population of China are below the poverty line if that line is placed at a per capita annual income of \$15 per year or a family income of \$75, or even \$50, per year. Probably four-fifths of those above the poverty line consume each year all they produce. Saving is thus confined to a smaller fraction of the population, and a considerable portion of this is predatory (that of officials) in a great degree.

What are the implications with reference to social progress of this standard of living? In terms of commerce, we have a surplus of labor and a scarcity of land and capital. It is true that in the whole of China there is a considerable amount of vacant land, but much of it is as far away from the congested portions as New York is distant from Florida, so that migratory movements are very difficult unless they are publicly organized. Considerable additional tracts would be available if flood prevention and afforestation were undertaken with vigor. Other tracts could be cultivated if peace and order were maintained. There are also very great untouched mineral resources. But scarcity of any factor in production is always in relation to the prevalent customs and state of social organization. The surplus land cannot be used until political conditions are stabilized, on the one hand, and until capital goods in the form of transportation facilities and mining machinery

are accumulated, on the other. The present fact is that in those parts of the country where intensive agriculture is practiced, the average holding is probably less than two acres, and in those parts where extensive agriculture is practiced, the average holding is about fifteen acres. The scarcity of capital goods is obvious. Farm animals are few. Tools are very simple and inexpensive. Roads are paths on the embankments or across the fields. Even more important than this unbalanced relation of the factors of production is the social complex of ignorance, conservatism, clannishness, family and official dominance, and prejudice against the new.

What are the possibilities of economic progress under these circumstances? One may say pretty definitely for the country as a whole that for the immediate future all increase in food supply will immediately be taken up by increase in the population. Human nature is such that, under the circumstances, no large amount of saving for capital investment can be expected from the lower 90 per cent of the population. Something could be done by promoting insurance and savings schemes, but when compared with the need for capital, the supply which would thus be available would be very slight. While Chinese participation in furnishing the capital is essential, the only way in which considerable funds can be secured is by borrowing from abroad. It is open to question, however, just to what degree such borrowing would enrich the life of the rural population and the lower strata in the cities. The experience of Japan and India would indicate that progress comes to the upper classes in the cities, with little or no relief to the lower classes and the rural population. Nevertheless, extensive borrowing from abroad seems inevitable.

But labor as well as funds enters into the production of capital goods. Can China's surplus labor be made more productive without first supplying more land and capital?

Investigation shows that hardly half of the available labor force is employed in the rural districts. This is because of the seasonal character of the work and the excess of population. In the cities there are always applicants for any position involving unskilled labor. The raw materials from which better houses, tools, pictures, and many of the comforts of civilization could be made exist in abundance in China. There is an abundance of surplus labor. What is the prospect of bringing the two together by means of reorganization and with a minimum use of capital? We have never reached the limits of human cooperation in the production of goods for the satisfaction of our wants. There are instances of preachers and teachers going into the poverty-stricken communities and rearranging things so that the community enjoyed a fuller and happier and more intelligent life without any substantial increase of the food supply. There are interesting proposals and some performances in the direction of utilizing soldier labor for the construction of roads, canals, and railroads. But on the whole, this sort of achievement must be built upon foundations of enlightenment and public spirit which are all too rare even in progressive democracies. We may not neglect these methods, but we are not justified in hoping for any fundamental transformation of China in the near future as a result of their utilization. The modernization of life is coming with amazing rapidity in the cities, and the influence of the cities in the life of the nation will be profound. Nevertheless, the forces of inertia are tremendous and are not to be quickly overcome.

Medicine, dentistry, art, sanitation, education, recreation, all imply the accumulation of capital and the support of the professional classes by the non-professional classes. The same thing is true with reference to the production and introduction of better seed, the fight against plant and animal diseases, and all of those features of

Western culture which have supplied us so bountifully with "things." The difficulty is that the population is, in Professor Ross' graphic phrase, "holding on by the eye-lashes." It seems impossible for them to get even a hand-hold of life, not to speak of a foot-hold. Yet all reform demands in one way or another, some surplus, some margin. This implies that reform must be slow and must emanate from centers such as the great cities. The cities, however, are not in their nature altruistic. They will be likely to help the country only as they find that helping the country is helping themselves.

In a word, the low standard of living constitutes a condition of very rigid and unyielding social inertia. It means that any sudden entry of the whole nation into modern industry is absurd and impossible. It means that any industrial "Yellow Peril" is the remotest of contingencies. We must still think of change in China in terms of decades and centuries. She begins the modern economic race with tremendous handicaps — a saturated population, no market from which to secure extensive food supplies, little capital, few trained leaders, few ideas in the minds of the masses which are favorable to progress. The war for progress in China must indeed be a "war of attrition."



LEADER: An individual whose rationalizations, judgments, and feelings are accepted (responded to) by the group as a basis of belief and action.

EXPERT: An individual equipped with technological information and capacities who serves the group on behalf of its interests. E. C. Lindeman, *Social Discovery*, pp. 222-3. (Republic Pub. Co., 1924)

THE VALUE OF LIFE HISTORY DOCUMENTS FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

E. T. KRUEGER

Associate Professor of Sociology, Vanderbilt University

PERSONAL documents, of which life-histories, diaries, and letters are types, are increasingly being used for social research. W. I. Thomas in *The Polish Peasant* and in *The Unadjusted Girl* has relied upon such data as source materials. Park and Miller in *Old World Traits Transplanted* have largely depended upon narrations of personal experiences to illustrate immigrant attitudes. But no significant study has been made of the documents themselves and the validity of their use for scientific purposes. Anna Robeson Burr has contributed a valuable work on the autobiography, as has Arthur Ponsonby on English diaries, but from the literary standpoint. Cooley, Thomas, Park, and Burgess, in various books, have scattered observations upon the sociological use of personal documents. In a recent number of the JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY, Professor E. S. Bogardus has contributed a valuable article, which marks a growing interest in this aspect of the subject.¹

While this discussion deals primarily with the self-written document rather than with life-history narratives reproduced by an observer it applies to both from the viewpoint of their use in social research and for the most part in the technique of securing such documents.

In general there are two main types of personal docu-

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is the first of two articles dealing with documents of personal experience. The second will be on the technique of securing life-histories. These articles represent what appears to be a thorough approach to the subject; the author has spent some four years in research with original documents collected by himself.

¹ May-June, 1924, pp. 294-303.

ment. One is introspective and reflective, revealing the inner, private life in terms of the fundamental motives or attitudes and the social situations which call these attitudes into existence. The other is the conventional document which is highly rationalized and idealized, and deals with external and traditional behavior in terms of social approval.

These two main types of document may be further subdivided into four classes, based upon what might be called the autobiographical motive, — the Confessional, the Egotistical, the Scientific, and the Naïve types. All confessional documents are introspective but not all introspective documents are confessional. For example, the emancipated type of document, belonging to the second class, is highly introspective but not confessional. In literature, Cellini's autobiography is an example. So also are documents belonging to the egotistical class, which show a defensive assumption of superiority in the form of arrogance and extreme self-opinionation. Thus Rosseau's *Confessions* is very introspective but is not confessional in character. The third type of egotistical document is conventional. The scientific type is introspective but not confessional. The Naïve type is conventional. The term *naïve* is here used to cover those documents which arise out of a sheltered and traditional background. *The Diary of a Young Girl*, though artless, belongs to the confessional and not to the naïve type.

The confessional document is so named because of the mechanism which calls it into existence. When vivid socially-forbidden experiences become dammed up in the mind as objects of mental conflict, when defeat and failure in the realization of wishes face the person, when habits and sentiments are deeply disturbed, confession as a means of relief can take place. Confession is a natural outlet for mental tension. The tension may be observed in the form

of attitudes of indecision, bewilderment, resentment, disillusionment, and aversion. Confessional documents reveal both passive and aggressive attitudes in the relation of the person to the conflict, and the causes of the disorganization may be ascribed by the person to inner deficiencies or to external circumstances. The effect of the tension is, in any case, one of isolation which finds expression in the feeling of social disparagement, of insecurity, and futility in the effort to satisfy wishes.

Both introspective and conventional documents are valid sociological data. They are behavior in the same sense as any reaction (in physics, chemistry, or psychology) is behavior. The technique for comparative handling of these materials and checking upon them as behavior data is alone lacking. Introspective documents of a scientific character have long been accepted as data, but thus far the confessional document has not been widely used except in the literary field. This study suggests that the latter yields a ready application to scientific uses in the study of personality and social attitudes. It forms the central theme of this discussion.

What interests us in the confessional document is that the psychological mechanism of catharsis or release from tension which underlies it is operative in crisis or tension situations. When it occurs the effect is a pouring out of the mental jam by which the person has become disorganized. The very nature of this mechanism insures a high degree of candor, of completeness of detail, and a revelation of the fundamental motives. Tension situations isolate the person, at least in his own imagination, and enforce an effort toward social identification. This effort may take the form of self-pity, of despair, of bitterness, or of self-depreciation. With the catharsis of the pent-up emotion comes a discharge also of the person's inner reflection and brooding involved in the mental effort of the

person to organize his attitudes toward his situation. Catharsis is like loosening the thread of the knitted sleeve. Once begun it cannot stop until the whole is unraveled.

The study of personality and social problems is at heart a study of attitudes. Human behavior to be understood must be studied from the standpoint of the person's attitudes toward himself, or his conception of himself in his rôle in the social groups into which his life is cast or into which wish-fulfilment drives him. Professor E. W. Burgess has in unpublished manuscript formulated the concept, personal behavior pattern, to describe the fixation of traits in the interactions of infancy and childhood. The self is a product of inner reflection seeking adjustments toward all that goes on in the interplay of persons and in the struggle with environmental situations. Behavior at any point is conditioned and motivated by the self in its attempt to reorganize itself in the succession of changes incident to all human existence and which introduce in the person elements of disorganization. When situations are of the nature of a crisis, when adjustments to situations are difficult, tension arises. In severe tensions the blocking may be complete. It is not too much to suggest, as the result of this research, that the confessional document, whether in the form of the life-history, the diary, or the letter, as types, offers a highly satisfactory and thus far, an almost undiscovered form of data by which personality and social attitudes may become, at least in part, explicable.

Personal documents, and especially confessional documents, are of value in social research in that they reveal the tension or personality-making situations which enforce life-organization. Thomas has referred to these as "turning points." It is in these situations that the fundamental attitudes of the person arise by which his behavior is motivated. A classification of tension-situations taken from

actual documents has given the following tentative list: health, mental ability, economic, vocation, affection, sex, personal attractiveness, religious belief, death, cultural heritage, status, and family. This list is not complete and will require further analysis to secure terms which are more completely mutually exclusive. Space forbids a definition of each term. It is clear however that such a classification is a valuable and necessary step in the scientific description of personality and social attitudes.

Tension situations produce attitudes or behavior tendencies. When a given tension is prolonged, perhaps to a life-time, the resulting attitudes become fixed into dispositional traits or reaction patterns. The following classification is submitted as quite tentative and incomplete but has the merit of arising from the comparative use of actual materials. Six reaction patterns have been secured: assumed superiority, rationalization, struggle, rebellion, withdrawal, and submission. Here, as in the above classification of situations, space forbids definition and further description.

The study of tension situations and attitudes reveals the sequences of situation and attitude, or what might be called mechanisms of personality. In the confessional document the sequence begins with (a) the situation which interferes with the satisfaction of wishes, (b) shows a resulting mental conflict which takes the form of restlessness, fear, or dread. and is followed by (c) a feeling of isolation as self-consciousness arises in the form of inferiority and is attended by contrasts with other persons, and ends in (d) a dominant attitude which defines behavior. This *a, b, c, d*, sequence is to be thought of as an automatic one. Expressed mechanically, it may be regarded as the mechanism of the suppressed wish.

Personal documents are rich in descriptions of groups and persons which influence behavior. It is only recently

that science has come to study descriptively the relation of person to group. Now that it has begun that task it finds that the group plays a preponderant rôle in the control of behavior and in the shaping of personality. Cooley has with great force suggested that it is in the intimate and face to face relationships which are found in what he calls primary groups that human nature is developed.

It becomes important from the standpoint of the study of personality to understand what goes on in these intimate groups and what attitudes arise in certain situations in which intimacy plays a decisive part. The nature of primary groups is to resist intrusion from without and satisfactory descriptions of these must come chiefly from within the group. That is, personal experience is largely beyond the observer's reach. Personal documents, especially those which arise in response to inner tensions demanding release, permit the reader to enter into the innermost thoughts of the person, and in the intimate descriptions of his relationships find the genesis of his personality and the problems of life organization which confront him. In-so-far as new situations introduce elements of secondary relationships, personal documents reveal the struggle of persons to reorganize themselves and to find substitutive expression for that which finds spontaneous expression in primary groups.

Personal documents of the life-history type, but including the diary and letter types when these cover long periods, give a connected account of a life. The result is a total picture of the personality on the one hand and a detailed description on the other hand of the series of situations and attitudes which make up the life story. The connected life account permits an appreciation of the personality from the standpoint of the conditioning inner attitudes and the fixation of these attitudes into reaction patterns.

THE SOCIAL BASE MAP

ERLE FISKE YOUNG

*Assistant Professor of Sociology
University of Southern California*

THE MAP is a device for studying the spatial distribution and movement of social phenomena. Persons, institutions, peoples, attitudes, may be viewed as interesting social forces which mutually repel or attract each other. Their location and movement in space at any given moment is the resultant of mutually modifying social forces plus the effect of geographic forces. Like iron filings under the influence of a magnet they behave in characteristic ways and assume characteristic forms and patterns. A study of these social patterns is at once a clue to the character of the social forces in question and to the effect of geographic forces. The study of the geography of a given form of social behavior is, therefore, a first step in the analysis of the forces which determine that behavior.

Humans, like plants and animals, sort themselves out into territorial groups which may be classified by the particular combination of elements they contain. Compatibles live peaceably side by side; incompatibles are avoided or driven out. A survey of a bit of prairie, or swamp, or woodland, reveals a variety of competing and cooperating forms of plant and animal life. These forms are in a constantly changing state of equilibrium or approximate equilibrium with reference to soil and climatic conditions

NOTE: The writer's interest in this subject was first stimulated by Dr. Robert E. Park and Dr. Ernest W. Burgess of the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, who have been among the first to see the importance of ecological factors in the social process. Their influence may be readily recognized throughout the present discussion.

and with reference to each other. Maps showing the distribution and movements of the various forms of life in an area are analogous to the graphic formulae of the chemist by which the relations of the constituent elements of a chemical compound are represented. Each such map or formula shows a phase of the whole process whose course the student is following. From the standpoint of any particular form of life found within the area, the map is a picture of conditions under which it maintains itself.

Humans behave in a somewhat similar manner. Within the slum, for example, are found a number of interrelated persons and institutions. Unemployed hobo's, soap box orators, criminals, prostitutes, cheap restaurants, employment agencies, missions, all find there a congenial habitat. Along "Gold Coast" the Four Hundred, social climbers, "four-flushers," "hall-room boys," caterers, exclusive shops, apartment hotels, flourish. If any considerable area of a large city is mapped it will be found to consist of a number of sub-areas, each with its peculiar life. Each area represents a more or less distinct form of communal organization which can be distinguished from that of adjacent areas. Each has boundaries which mark it off as in some sense a world apart. In contra-distinction to the arbitrarily determined political, statistical, and administrative areas these areas may be called "natural areas."

^ The distribution of forms of social behavior, say juvenile delinquency, non-voting, pauperism, or race rioting, needs to be studied with reference to these natural areas.) Are these forms of behavior characteristic of certain types of areas? What are the associated phenomena within the given area? Under what local conditions does the phenomenon in question tend to appear and disappear? And so on.

In the search for causal factors the student soon notices that some aspects of the community are more permanent

and in a sense more fundamental than others. Most obvious among these are certain outstanding natural geographic features. Rivers, lakes, the lay of the land, and so on, determine many of the natural boundary lines and fix the avenues of communication. Of equal importance are human geographic elements, such as the location of thoroughfares, street plans, canals, railroads, industrial areas, parks, tunnels, bridges, buildings, and so on. Once constructed these act as forces which determine in part the forms of activities which can be advantageously carried on thereafter within the area. They direct, or inhibit, or accelerate growth and movement. They meet peculiar needs of various economic, racial, or language groups. They encourage or prevent various types of disorganization.

The physical structure of the area as it now stands has been determined by the character and activities of its past and present occupants but in turn it determines the character and activities of its future occupants. Slow changes occur whose cumulative effect may be very great, but for considerable periods we may regard the present geographic elements, whether natural or human in origin, as basic forces in communal life. Where zoning laws have been enacted still greater permanency of the communal structure is assured.

It is desirable therefore, in mapping social data, to use a base map which will enable the student of community life (1) to make graphic correlations of the data with the more permanent significant geographic elements of communal structure, and (2) to plot the data so that its relation to the various natural areas is immediately apparent.

A social base map which will serve this dual function will, of course, show features now usually shown on maps, such as rivers, lakes, hills, and other topographic aspects, street layout, bridges, tunnels, and transportation systems. In addition it should show some important relatively per-

manent aspect of communal organization. For this purpose land usage presents certain advantages. A convenient classification is: (1) railroad property; (2) industrial property; (3) commercial property; (4) public and private parks and boulevards, cemeteries, golf links, and so on; (5) residential areas; and (6) vacant property. Each type of usage should be distinguished by some convenient symbol which will not interfere with the plotting of data directly over it.¹

The particular advantage of this classification by land usage lies in the fact that it reveals much of the fundamental structure of the community. Railroad property and the flanking industrial property generally lie on the periphery of residential areas owing to the nature of the industrial processes. They act as barriers between adjacent residential areas. The movement of racial and language tides across the city are checked, if not completely stopped, by them. . Frequently, widely different levels of economic and cultural life occur on opposite sides of these barriers. They are not infrequently the battleground for adjacent incompatible racial or language groups. Large parks, boulevards, large enclosed vacant spaces are also frequently dividing lines between communities. Main thoroughfares with their commercial activities and lines of transportation, on the other hand, run through the heart of the community. Where two such thoroughfares cross a focus of community activities will generally be found. Here land values and rentals are high and the most important economic institutions of the community are located.

¹ In preparing maps of Chicago the following symbols were used: Railroad property, solid black; industrial property, medium weight diagonal cross-hatched line; commercial frontage, by a heavy solid line along the front of the block; parks, boulevards, cemeteries, and so on were stippled; vacant blocks were put in with a broken line; and residential areas with a full line. Blue line prints (white prints) were made of this base from the tracing and colored inks used for plotting data on these prints.

Land usage is only one of several things with which it may be important to correlate given phenomena of city life. Land value, rentals, population density, may also be used. Each of these presents peculiar mechanical difficulties but they are of sufficient importance to warrant the effort to perfect base maps using them.

It may be desirable to use two bases simultaneously in plotting data. That is, the student may wish to plot the data upon a base which shows both land usage and land value, or land usage and population density. A map with a double base may be constructed in case the material used for one of the bases is of such character that it can be measured by some common unit and therefore is capable of linear representation in graphing as in the case of land values.

Two methods of construction suggest themselves:

(1) A relief, or three-dimension map, such as the geologists use, can be made. For example, land usage and land value can both be shown. In this case land usage is shown as we indicated above; land values are shown by varying elevations of the surface of the map. This method, though very effective, is obviously tedious and expensive.

(2) The second base can be "projected" onto the surface of the first base by the use of contour lines which pass through all points of equal "elevation," that is, through points having equal value or equal density as the case may be. Weather maps have made us familiar with this device. The practice of the engineer in showing land elevation on topographic maps could be followed with necessary modifications.

The rapidly growing importance of human ecology in sociological thinking makes it imperative that the map be further developed and utilized as a device for social analysis as well as for the graphic presentation of social data.

MORALE AND LEADERSHIP

LESLIE D. ZELENY

St. Cloud, Minnesota, State Teachers College

NAPOLEON SAID, "In war, the morale is to the physical as three is to one." And administrators, social leaders, and statesmen of today would probably say, "In social groups morale is to the physical as three is to one — but we know little method in administration which enables us to develop morale with any certainty." All leaders covet the ability to foster morale in their organizations — but few, if any, are able to lay hold of general principles to guide them.

It is the purpose of this paper to arrive at some general principles underlying the development of morale in any group of human beings. Let us first consider nine definitions from competent sources:

1. "Condition as effected by, or dependent upon, such moral or mental factors as zeal, spirit, hope, confidence, etc. Mental state as a body of men, an army and the like."¹

2. Morale "is fitness of mind for purpose at hand."²

3. "Morale — work is intended to promote contentment, both in the individual and group, by removing or diminishing as far as possible, any factors operating to impair physical comfort or buoyancy of spirit."³

4. "Morale consists in acting up to our best knowledge, and the loss of it is marked by the accumulation of dead knowledge not cast into conduct forms or wrought into habit."⁴

¹ Webster, *International Dictionary*.

² Munson, Edward L., *The Management of Men*, p. 3.

³ Munson, Edward L., *The Management of Men*, p. 21.

⁴ Hall, G. Stanley, *Morale*, p. 288.

5. "Confidence — a justified confidence — is the cornerstone of morale."⁵

6. "Morale is the sum of motives that find expression in the support of actions."⁶

7. "Morale is to the mind what condition is to the body."⁷

8. "Morale, while not identical with the righteousness of the cause, can never reach its height unless the aim of the war can be held intact in the undissembled moral sense of the people."⁸

9. "Morale is the sustaining power of action."⁹

Considering the factors mentioned in these definitions, we see that the following are judged by these writers as important in morale: team work, zeal, spirit, hope, confidence, fitness of mind for the purpose at hand, contentment, buoyancy of spirit, adjustment to the environment, acting up to one's best knowledge, sum of motives that find expression in support of action, health of mind, and full acceptance of the aim of the group.

Putting together these factors we can make a tentative definition of morale: When a group of human beings have accepted a common aim for which they work together with a buoyancy of spirit, with zeal, with hope, with expectancy of success, and with confidence in their leaders, the mental state resulting in the group may be called morale. This definition seems complete, but let us compare it with another idea of morale: An efficient organization is a "body of human beings trained and disciplined to common action, understanding one another through the sharing of certain knowledge and bound together by a unity of will and interest which is expressed by their willingness and central obedience to the leader."¹⁰ This puts too much em-

⁵ Andrews, Lincoln C., *Manpower*, p. 48.

⁶ Goddard, Harold, *Morale*.

⁷ Hocking, W. E., *Morale and Its Enemies*.

⁸ Hocking, W. E., "Morale," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol 122.

⁹ Hocking, W. E., *Morale and Its Enemies*.

¹⁰ Miller, A. H., *Leadership*, p. 9.

phasis upon the military idea of obedience, but it adds the factors of the sharing of knowledge, and understanding of each other. And one more definition of morale needs to be presented before we make a final draft: "But the soldier or citizen who conceives his work as a contribution to a more abundant life and sets his will creatively to its realization attains a morale that will not fail — for he gains access to that inexhaustible excess of life which a union of the human with a vision of the beautiful invariably unlocks."¹¹ Goddard adds the idea of the leading to a more abundant life as important in morale.

To our tentative definition we can then add the three factors of (1) sharing of knowledge, (2) hope of more abundant life, and (3) understanding of each other. We then get this definition: The mental state resulting when the members of a group accept common aims for which they work together with a buoyancy of spirit, with zeal, with hope, with a sharing of knowledge, with possibility of success, with confidence in their leaders and in each other, and with hope of a more abundant life may be called morale.

In a sense this definition is pragmatic; it tells what must be done to develop morale. It is, however, a little long for ordinary use. *Morale is the individual and social state of mind resulting when the members of a group accept and work toward the realization of common aims which appear to lead to more abundant life.*

This definition with the connotations going with it has been made by considering many factors advanced by the writers on morale today. It may be considered a definition made by many thinkers.

The definition suggests three major problems for the development of morale in any society. The first is the de-

¹¹ Goddard, Harold, *Morale*, p. 98.

termining of common aims that appear to lead to more abundant life; the second is the problem of getting the members of the group to accept common aims; and the third is the problem of getting the members to work toward the realization of common aims.

I

COMMON AIMS

The writer cannot, of course, determine common aims for all organizations. These should be determined in as democratic a manner as possible by members of the group where an *esprit de corps* is desired. Modern high schools set up the aims of health, command of fundamentals, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure and ethical character. The Boy Scouts "do a good turn daily." The Kiwanians "build." It is not so much the setting up of common aims as it is the acceptance and working toward their realization by all that puzzles the leader.

II

THE ACCEPTANCE OF COMMON AIMS

Army writers (Munson, Miller, and Bach) agree that the most important single factor in morale is the influence of the leader. His actions, his words, his dress, his example count for a great deal. Major Bach has made a statement of the qualifications of a good army officer, and these qualifications may well be copied by the true leader.¹²

Self-confidence. "Self-confidence results, first, from exact knowledge; second, the ability to impart that knowledge; and, third, the feeling of superiority over others that naturally follows." A leader,

¹² Bach, S. A., *Leadership*.

in other words, must be professionally trained for all aspects of his work and he must have the ability to act, to talk in correct effective English, and to demonstrate tactfully when necessary that he is the authority in the organization.

Moral Ascendency. "To gain and maintain this ascendancy you must have self-control, physical vitality, and endurance and moral force . . . Be an example to your men. Don't preach to them—that will be worse than useless. Live the kind of life you would have them lead, and you will be surprised to see the number that will imitate you."

Self-sacrifice. "You will give yourself, mentally, in sympathy and appreciation for the troubles of men in your charge. They may desire help but more than anything else they desire sympathy."

A Paternal Bent. "I refer to paternalism that manifests itself in a watchful care for the comfort and welfare of those in your charge." The leader should do all he can to see that the individuals in his group make the best progress, take up the most suitable work, and get into the most beneficial activities. Make the comfort of the members of the group a personal matter. "And by doing these things, you are breathing life into what would be otherwise a mere machine. You are creating a soul in the organization that will make the mass respond to you as though it were one man. And then you have arrived."

Fairness. "Study your men as carefully as a surgeon studies a difficult case. And when you are sure of the diagnosis, apply the remedy. And remember that you apply the remedy to effect a cure, not merely to see the victim squirm. When one of your men has accomplished an especially creditable piece of work, see that he gets the proper reward. Turn Heaven and earth upside down to get it for him." There is no excuse for failing to give proper recognition to a member or leader who makes a definite contribution to the group. Failure to do so will cause ill feeling among the members.

Initiative. A leader must be ready with solutions for problems before they arrive. He must be a thinker. He must start things.

Decision. "It is better to do something and do the wrong thing than to hesitate, hunt around for the right thing, and wind up by doing nothing at all."

Dignity. "Be the friend of your men, but do not become their intimate." A leader can be the friend of his co-workers without becoming their common property. He must keep a certain amount of reserve.

Courage. "Courage to adhere without faltering to a determined course of action which your judgment has indicated as the one best suited to secure the desired results." This idea of courage may not harmonize with the socialized group idea, but the leader will be in few situations where it is not advisable to have some ideas of his own and stick to them. He will be respected for it.

The leader who possesses these qualities will be able to win respect and cooperation from the members of the group better than he could dream of. He will be in a position to put forward for acceptance some common aims for the organization and he can be assured that they will be considered with favor.

The true leader, then, through his qualities of character develops a favorable attitude toward anything he may suggest. This is general mental set. And by providing conditions that will allow for the development and expansion of the best self in the members of his organization he will develop another favorable mental set.

These general mental sets are fertile ground upon which the set which leads to acceptance of common aims is to grow and flourish.

The problem of morale (particularly that of acceptance of common aims) can be approached from the point of view of mental set or attitude. Psychologists point out that it is easy to get a man to do the thing you want him to do if his mental set is favorable to the idea you present. Recognizing the temperament of individuals as a variable, we can see that the total physical and mental environment is bound to have an influence on the mental set of the individual. Munson claims that this mental set finally focuses into a conviction which is the mainspring of a specific act. All, then, that is needed is to suggest the act and it will be executed because the mind has been prepared. The bonds will have been formed and it will be satisfying for them to act when the proper stimulus comes.

This brings the leader to the heart of the problem of morale in a social organization. Through his coworkers, through his general organization, through the press, through every possible agency he launches — with the acceptance of the idea by as many as possible as he goes along — suggestions, suggestions, suggestions, leading to thought about concrete common aims. The common aims are explained carefully and fully to the group on one day, on another day the local paper publishes an article on aims, the executive staff has the problem brought before it, a group slogan is developed and published, pictures are exhibited expressing the new group spirit, etc. From every source come suggestions — they land on members, leaders, and community. This may spread over a long period.

CLINCH THE ACCEPTANCE

Finally, at an assembly of the whole body the problem of aims is considered. The air is cleared. The president of the organization presents a creed for the group (prepared by a committee of members) expressing the aims of their organization, the leader gives an inspirational speech, and a vote of acceptance is taken on the creed. (Of course, no meeting would be called unless the leader was sure of the attitude of the members before the meeting.) Thus the group thought is crystallized by a direct appeal after appropriate suggestions have been made to develop the proper mental set. The members of the society would now know and understand and accept the common aim of the organization if they ever would.

Good morale is not assured in an organization when the members and leaders have accepted common aims. Like anything with life and spirit, morale must be nourished and stimulated. This may be done by continuing (perhaps in a less intensive way) appropriate suggestions at

tactful intervals. The idea that the society has definite common aims must be kept alive. A group slogan helps. A group song helps. And when individuals begin to fail let the leader show them how the unit at hand contributes to one or all of the common aims of the group. Also provide every opportunity possible for the actual doing of things that make an evident contribution to the aims of the organization. Such factors will continually nourish the special mental set of the group. This special mental set when working through extra business and social activities, through the organization committees, through a wholesome and cheerful environment, and through a leader of true character will grow and flourish and blossom into a lasting spirit which will be the pride of the community.

III

CONCLUSION

There has been a great deal of concrete detail here that has been left to the imagination of the reader. The general principles indicated will need to be applied differently in each organization, and this involves careful study by the leader. He should make his diagnosis and apply the remedy as scientifically as any great physician would diagnose a case and apply his remedy. The development of morale requires the *n*th degree of professional skill, and to the degree that the leader fails to apply the factors that control morale, morale will be lacking in his organization.

It may be of interest to note at this point that the Boy Scout organization, which appeals to boys all over the world, has a definite oath, slogan, motto, and set of laws which set forth the purposes of the organization. The slogan "Do a good turn daily" has spread everywhere. The Girl Scouts, the Girl Reserves, and the Woodcraft League

have similar purposes which all must accept before they become members. In fact, the general observer has probably noted that most successful institutions have some sort of definite common aim which all members accept and work toward. The church's foundation was laid by men who accepted and worked toward the realization of common aims. The Masons, the Elks, the Woodmen, the K. C.'s, etc., have been the strongest when their common aims have been most actively accepted.

On the other hand, the writer fears there are too many American organizations where the leaders and workers feel no common aim, feel no general pulse beating for the whole organization. They are in the organization because their friends are there, or to make money. They have seen no vision; no goal is ahead of them. The scientific development of morale through providing conditions that will lead to the acceptance of common aims, and to work toward the realization of common aims which appear to lead to more abundant life will give the members of a society a living reason for group citizenship, and, in the writer's opinion, will vitalize any association of human beings.



THE MODERN problem of social control is due to the fact that we have developed a material civilization based on a science of human nature and social interaction. Sutherland, *Criminology*, p. 628.

OUR INDUSTRIALISM alone is demanding of us about all we can bear. We have not yet any of us developed the mental habits which are necessary to control it and make it serve us properly. Martin, *The Mystery of Religion*, p. 369.

WHEN different interests meet, they need not *oppose* but only *confront* each other. The confronting of interests may result in either one of four things: (1) voluntary submission of one side; (2) struggle and the victory of one side over the other; (3) compromise; or (4) integration. Follette, *Creative Experience*, p. 156.

SOCIAL DISTANCE AND ITS ORIGINS

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

SOCIAL distance refers to "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize pre-social and social relations generally."¹ The following experiments² were conducted to find out just *how* and *why* these grades of understanding and intimacy vary. Two hundred and forty-eight persons, chiefly members of two graduate and upper division classes in social psychology, were asked to classify the following list of racial and language groups in three columns, putting in the first column those races toward which as races and not as individuals a friendly feeling was felt; in column two, the races toward which a

TABLE I

Racial Groups

1. Armenian	13. German	25. Norwegian
2. Bulgarian	14. Greek	26. Portuguese
3. Bohemian	15. Hindu	27. Filipino
4. Canadian	16. Hungarian	28. Polish
5. Chinese	17. Irish	29. Roumanian
6. Czecho-Slovak	18. Italian	30. Russian
7. Dane	19. Japanese	31. Servian
8. Dutch	20. Jew-German	32. Scotch
9. English	21. Jew-Russian	33. Spanish
10. French	22. Mexican	34. Syrian
11. French-Canadian	23. Mulatto	35. Swedish
12. Finn	24. Negro	36. Turk

¹ Cf. R. E. Park, "The Concept of Social Distance," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, VIII:339-44.

² Suggested by Dr. Park.

feeling of neutrality was experienced; and in column three, the races whose mention aroused feelings of antipathy and dislike.

Each person was then asked to re-copy the three columns: to rearrange column one, putting first those races toward which the greatest degree of friendliness was felt, and the others in order; to start off column two with the races toward which the nearest perfect degree of neutrality was experienced, and so on; and to rearrange column three, putting first those races toward which the greatest antipathy was experienced and then the others in order of decreasing antipathy. Each person was also asked to give the races from which both his father and mother were descended. Twenty-four races were represented, as follows:

TABLE II
Races of the 248 Participants

English	174	Jew-Russian	3
Scotch	120	Japanese	3
Irish	109	Hungarian	2
German	86	Mulatto	2
French	65	Negro	2
Dutch	50	Norwegian	2
Canadian	8	Russian	2
Spanish	8	Armenian	1
Swedish	8	Bulgarian	1
Dane	4	French-	
Chinese	6	Canadian	1
Italian	4	Filippino	1
Jew-German	4		

Many persons were not sure of their racial descent, saying that they would have to consult their parents or other relatives before they could be certain. The extensive degree of this low ebb in racial consciousness was surprising;

it was offset, however, in most cases by pronounced race antipathies.

The discussion of the races toward which friendly feeling was expressed and of those to which a neutral reaction was made will be omitted here in order that full space may be given to the "antipathy column." Suffice it to say that friendly feeling was expressed in general toward the races to which the 248 judges themselves belonged, and that the "neutral feeling" column was composed of races concerning which ignorance was expressed. "I don't know anything about them" was a common answer.

The races toward which the greatest or prime antipathy was felt were tabulated and are given in Table III.

TABLE III

Races Against which the Greatest Antipathy was Expressed

Turk	119	Servian	3	French	2
Negro	79	Russian	8	Roumanian	2
Mulatto	75	Czecho-Slovak	8	Spanish	2
Japanese	61	Syrian	6	Swedish	2
Hindu	44	Bulgarian	6	Canadian	0
Jew-German	42	Filipino	5	Dane	0
Mexican	41	Italian	5	Dutch	0
Jew-Russian	41	Bohemian	4	French-	
German	38	Finn	4	Canadian	0
Chinese	30	Polish	3	Norwegian	0
Greek	19	Irish	3	Scotch	0
Armenian	17	Portuguese	3		
Hungarian	11	English	2		

Table III gives interesting results, but it does not explain the reasons for any of the antipathetic attitudes that were expressed. In order to penetrate explanations and causes each of the 248 persons was asked to select the race for which he felt the greatest antipathy and describe in detail the circumstances as nearly as he could recall them

under which this dislike originated and developed. Not his opinions but his experiences direct and indirect were requested. It was asked that these be written out as fully and freely as possible and with special attention to all important details that occurred.

This personal experience data proved to be as enlivening and interesting as the more formal data were colorless except as one was tempted to "read into" them reactions of his own. The personal experience description of the origins and development of racial antipathy fell into certain classifications.

I. The first and largest grouping of materials was composed of *traditions and accepted opinion*. It is clear after reading the data that hearsay evidence coming from both one's personal friends and from relative strangers in one's own "universe of discourse" who possess prestige in one's own eyes are widely influential in creating social distance. In the case of nearly every one of the 119 persons who placed the Turks at the head of their antipathy columns tradition and accepted opinion were the main, if not the only, factor operating. This second-hand evidence came chiefly from one's elders, parents, preachers, returned missionaries telling of massacres of Armenians by the Turks, newspaper articles of a similar character, motion pictures showing Turks as "villains," and from Armenian eye-witnesses of Turkish cruelties. Many of the 119 persons said that they had never seen a Turk, much less did they know even one.

The person who relies heavily on second-hand and hearsay racial reports usually gives evidence of having entered *imaginatively* into them so often and so thoroughly that they seem to have become his own personal experiences. Three large chances for error enter into these handed-down traditions and opinions, namely: (1) the possibility of erroneous observations in the first place; (2) the likelihood

of errors creeping into the repeating of these statements; and (3) the probability of entering into them imaginatively from the standpoint of one's own peculiar biases and experiences rather than from the viewpoint of the persons about whom they center. It is factors such as these which rule hearsay evidence out of civil and criminal courts; and yet, in studying the origins of race antipathy it appears that handed-down traditions and opinions greatly predominate.

1. All my store of unpleasant reactions against the Turks is not based on any personal knowledge of them. I do not even know a representative of this people; never glimpsed a Turk in gentle or in savage mood, never, except in imagination. But I have much second-hand knowledge. I have derived it from the lurid headlines of newspapers, from magazine articles on revelations of pseudo-political intrigue, from the stories dealing with the exotic life behind the mysterious veil and barred window. In church I have heard of Turkish atrocities to helpless missionaries. I have heard of the Turkish aversion to our culture and ideals talked of at dinner, at club meetings, and on the street. Nowadays I hear of the young Turk, with his intellectual veneer but who is the same unspeakable old Turk underneath.

2. When I was a young child my father one night at the dinner table spoke of some of the cruel practices of the Turks, which made a deep impression on me and perhaps started my aversion to the race. Another thing is a picture in a book of my father's, in which a Turk is selecting a woman for his harem. Father's prejudiced attitude of explanation together with the picture made a lasting impression on me. In studying geography in school I learned of the Turks' attitudes toward woman and this caused me to hate the race. In history classes in high school I studied the Crusades and the Turks' cruelty impressed me. Later I have read of the terrible massacres the Turks have committed. Parent, teacher, and reading are the main sources of my hatred of the Turk.

3. I have never before really stopped and thought out the reasons why I dislike the Turks and when I do I really don't know any logical reasons why I should dislike them. When I was a child I always heard so much about the cruelty of the Turks and the hor-

rible tortures and persecutions they inflicted upon the Christians. Hence, I have always pictured a Turk as a vile, greasy-looking individual with a long curved knife in his mouth.

4. The dislike that creeps over me when I think of the Turks is not the product of any intimate association with any of them, but is rather the result of propaganda sponsored by the various molders of public opinion, such as the press and the church. This propaganda has been directed against the extreme cruelty, the debased morality, and the religion in whose name the acts of cruelty and immorality have been perpetrated. I cannot divorce the Turk from the slaughter of Armenians, neither from the despoiling of innocent girls and women. When I was about seven years old I saw some moving pictures of the Turks. The Turks seemed to have no morals or anything that I could admire; they were uncouth and murderous animals instead of men. I believe that there is some good, however, in the Turk. But I am so immersed in the pictures of his cruelty that I feel unpleasant when I think of him.

II. Unpleasant racial sense impressions *personally experienced* in the early years of life are many. Sometimes *fear* is aroused; again, *disgust*. In either case there is a sensory image that is often described as "horrifying." The fact that these images were experienced in childhood gives them a more or less permanent character. Illustrations of the experiences arousing *fear* are given in Cases 5-10.

5. We lived in a town in the middle west. My father was having some improvements made about our residence and hired a negro to do the work. This negro was an old darky of perhaps fifty odd years. He lived alone, in a little shack on the outskirts of the town. We children always called him "nigger Martin" and our older brothers and sisters used to use this name when they wanted anything done. "Nigger Martin will get you if you aren't good" meant more than the words to us. The negro Martin was digging a large ditch near our house. Of course child fashion we were there and observed everything that went on. After awhile it became tiresome to us so we thought we'd have some fun. As he threw up shovel-full after shovel-full of dirt we picked up pieces of dirt and threw at him. He became angry (I don't blame him) and told us that if ever he caught us we'd "catch it." We ran and did not bother

him again. The next day he came and continued the work. We came to watch, and without the slightest warning he grabbed me into the ditch. I was so frightened and I cried and screamed while the others went to tell father. When he came and "saved" me I was a most happy but frightened girl. The name "nigger" of any sort always frightened me from that day on. That incident and all our training about the negro has naturally made me dislike and fear them.

6. My father used to rent land to the Japanese to raise strawberries on. One evening long past bed time we heard loud cries issuing from the quarters where the Japanese were living. Father rushed over and found that a Japanese from a neighboring farm had tried to kill one of the Japanese at our place with a hoe. The latter seized an iron rod and had laid out the former. My father was never able to find out the real cause. As I was very young I was much frightened at the noise. I was also afraid that my Daddy might be killed in the mix-up. Many nights after that I would jump from my sleep believing that the Japanese were attacking me. My prejudice against them dated from that night and I have never been able to overcome that distrust.

7. One afternoon I started from our hotel for a walk and I became lost. Until then the white robes and wrapped heads of the Turkish shop keepers had thrilled me. But when I discovered that I was "cut off" from the rest of the world — my world at least — I saw only very black eyes and sneering smiles. I asked my way and was greeted with a stream of broken English and wild gestures. As I hurried up the little street I seemed to be followed and surrounded by Turks. Even the recent Sheik vogue has not reconciled me to Turkish people.

8. My first encounter with the Negro was in Louisville, Kentucky, where I went to dinner at a hotel and happened to look into the kitchen where a colored man was preparing the food. At the sight of this black face, offset with those terrible white whites of the eye, I was unable to eat my dinner, and so I left the table and went to my room.

9. When I was small we lived next to a farm cultivated by a Turk, and as we rode past his house he would throw rocks at us and make lots of noise. His face had a look of cruelty, and as I remember it now I can imagine his doing some of the things I read that they do in Turkey.

10. When I was about eight years old I went for a hike in the hills and on returning I had to pass through some Chinese vege-

table gardens where a Chinese was seemingly picking strawberries. When I came along he jumped out and grabbed at me, but I started running with him running close after me. He yelled something at me in Chinese. Finally I reached home, but ever after that I have been much afraid of Chinamen.

III. The illustrations of *disgust* as a type of sensory impressions leading to race antipathy are numerous. Frequently disgust and fear, as in Case 15, are aroused together. In Case 14 the emotion of disgust has been thought about until it has become almost a definitely organized sentiment.

11. I don't like them (Germans) because two-thirds of them are square-headed, pig-headed — and fat too. They try to domineer and cow their wives. I don't like their voices — thick and guttural — nor their *avoirduois*.

12. I spent several weeks at a summer resort in Michigan where there were many wealthy Jews, who made a great display of their wealth, wore a great amount of flashy jewelry and expensive clothes and yet they were most penurious when paying for board, lodging, or souvenirs. These experiences gave me the impression that Jews are greedy, miserly, selfish, egotistical, fond of display, because the individuals I came in contact with had these characteristics.

13. When I was five my parents brought me to California and I entered a school where I was forced to meet Armenians continually. In high school one-fourth to one-third were Armenians. No one desired to sit in class beside a repulsive-looking, vile-smelling, and yet insolent Armenian. Continual feuds kept the school in a seething tumult. To one who liked good old Anglo-Saxon names, the *varous* of the Armenian *ian* was repulsive. It is almost tragic to see a beautiful old home, now ill-kept and swarming with a truly Rooseveltian family of Armenians. During the time I lived in Fresno I saw nothing in the Armenian to make him endurable. Industry and the ability to out-Jew a Greek are his only useful characteristics. As I saw him, he is filthy, stingy, insolent, forward, and unattractive physically, mentally, and morally. Oppressed in Eurasia, the Armenian swells with unnatural expansion when, here in America, the oppression is no longer felt.

14. "Let the Chinese be damned of body and soul" has been the by-word of the English toward my innocent people for more than half a century. Although one of the oldest and outstanding Christian nations of the world, she has poisoned the body and mind of a generation of Chinese through the opium traffic. She is continuing this treachery with greater effort. This is unthinkable; that a God-fearing, out-and-out Christian nation is peddling a drug of that nature in this day and age. I cannot tolerate hypocrisy in any individual; then should I tolerate a nation as such? Decent society outlaws dope peddlers; therefore decent civilization in like manner should outlaw nations as such.

15. When I was about twelve years old I went to Mexico with my father. It was about the time the United States was having trouble with Mexico (1916). Some Mexican soldiers were passing by; my father was looking in another direction; one of the Mexican men standing near tried to grab me. Probably he wanted ransom. He was so disgusting. He was such a coward and sneak and ever afterward I disliked all Mexicans. It seems to me that they will do almost anything when your back is turned.

IV. Unpleasant race impressions *experienced* in *adulthood* are also common. As a rule these anti-racial attitudes represent a generalization of experiences with one or a few individuals of the given race. Although there may be a recognition that the given experiences have been related to the less socially developed members of the race in question or from non-typical individuals the aversion is likely to spread to the whole race. Again, *fear* and *disgust* prevail.

16. I have spent about all my life along the Mexican border; in Mexico, Arizona and Sonora, and also California and Baja California. While working with a Mexican you have to watch him, that is, if you have anything he is liable to want. At one time a Mexican worked for us several months. He was friendly and a conscientious worker. When the work was over the Mexican left with no feeling on either side. The next night he came back and stole my best saddle. I got the saddle back but it did not increase my love for a Mexican. Five Mexicans came into a border store

and shot three of my schoolmates. One of my near relatives spent six months in a Mexican prison. He was never given a trial and was finally released without one. Three Mexicans murdered one of our neighbors and beat up his wife and children so badly that it was three days before any of them could tell the story. These Mexicans were never caught but two others were hanged for the crime. Three of my father's cousins were killed by Mexicans; one of my uncles was killed and another maimed for life by Mexicans. One of my schoolmates helped tear down a Mexican flag; he was caught at four o'clock in the afternoon and by seven o'clock had been sentenced to face the firing squad the next morning at five. His father went alone and unarmed and by swearing a lot took his son from the Mexican jail.

17. I once had a job where I was asked to work beside a Negro at the same bench. His attitude of arrogance and superiority soon turned me against him. His low morality was evidenced by the stories and experiences he told. This gave me the impression that all Negroes are bad.

18. When I first came to college I met a number of Filipino men students. I was as cordial to them as I was to any of the other foreign students, but the Filipino men made advances and assumed a certain familiarity which I resented and disliked. They, more than any other foreign group, seemed to be so ambitious of becoming intimate friends with American girls. Several of my friends have had similar experiences with this group.

19. I took a check from a well-known Hindu, while working in a department store, and upon calling the bank found that there were no funds to meet it. When the manager investigated he found that the Hindu had five accounts, and that he would transfer his money from one to another every two months and write checks on the account just closed. I have found that many Hindus have instructed the banks not to cash any checks drawn on them that are not signed in both Latin script and in their own hieroglyphics, and sometimes require that a check bear the thumb-print of its writer.

CASE 20. My boss is a Russian Jew, and not a bad man to work for at times, except that he always expects too much of a person. Outside of being my boss he is a good fellow and I hold nothing against him. But there are hundreds of Jews in the neighborhood, and he is one of the few I can say this about. I actually hate to see the majority of them come into the store. They expect you to wait on them first and let the others wait. No matter what you do for

them they are never satisfied. They enter the store with a sarcastic expression on their faces that makes you want to throw them out. They usually get excited and become very insulting. I have actually known American ladies to walk out of the store when the boss gets excited, and needless to say, men walk out in order to prevent a fight.

In asking for data the writer specifically requested that "experiences" only be described and generalization and denunciation be avoided; the latter procedure, however, crept into nearly all the papers; it averaged half the space in nearly fifty per cent of all the papers and was the only characteristic of a few, especially of those whose antipathetic feeling was pronounced. Later personal interviews with representative individuals showed that this practice was due not to a desire to dodge the issue, but to a widespread habit of generalizing first and then belatedly of examining actual experiences and of analyzing these.

Moreover, this generalization habit was usually on the basis, first of tradition and opinion, and second, of experiences with a few individuals from the lower levels of a "despised race," or with a few better class individuals showing their worst natures to their "enemies" — something not necessarily peculiar to any race. Sometimes a single sensory image engendering fear or disgust or both, and experienced in childhood, is the basis of a generalization against a whole race. While there are definite feeling bases of an inherited nature that lead naturally to race antipathies, unscientific generalizations upon a few personal outstanding adverse experiences or upon many adverse traditions is an outstanding datum.



BUT SUCH MEN are on the job, and passionately in earnest about it, Said one of them to a group of his executives, "Remember, we're not making boxes here; we're making men." Filene, *A Merchant's Horizon*, p. 252.

Book Notes

CRIMINOLOGY. By EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 643.

At last we have a text-book in criminology which has been written from the point of view of the sociologist. The offender is considered as a human being, as a person, and not as a mere legal concept or statistical average. Many of the usually accepted positions are subjected to an analysis which shows how inadequate are the data in this field. The author suggests that in order to arrive at an explanation of crime it will be necessary to have detailed records of the development of personalities which should begin from the time of birth. This record should contain autobiographical materials which would throw light upon conduct difficulties. So far as possible such documents should be secured from criminals themselves in order to gain a general understanding of the attitudes of this group. Then as a fund of information becomes available, it will become increasingly possible to control behavior and to develop socialized attitudes more effectively than has been done thus far. Results of this kind will not come through the ordinary methods of punishment but through a scientific study of the mechanisms and processes involved in criminality. Liberal use of case materials makes the book interesting reading.

W. C. S.

STUDIES IN HUMAN BIOLOGY. By RAYMOND PEARL. Williams & Wilkins Company, 1924, Baltimore, 1924, pp. 653.

Man is considered first as an animal. Then come nine chapters on the biological aspects of vital statistics, followed by Parts III and IV on public health and population problems respectively. The twenty-five chapters constitute an important collection of papers on various interesting phases of human life. A large number of tables (193) and illustrations (123) are given.

Special attention should be called to the publisher's belief that the individuality of the workers who help to print the book should not be lost and of the mention of the names of those who participated in each of the seven processes of making the book.

SYSTEM DER SOZIOLOGIE. By FRANZ OPPENHEIMER. Dritter Band. Gustav Fischer, Jena, 1923, 1924, pp. xxxviii+1148.

In this continuation of his comprehensive work, reviewed as to its earlier portions in previous issues of this JOURNAL, Dr. Oppenheimer lays "foundations" in the first half-volume, and expounds the economy of society (*Die Gesellschaftswirtschaft*) in the second. The entire work is essentially a treatise on economics, which he defines as the science of "the social economy of an economic society," especially the economics of the market. Its principal interest for students of sociology lies in the fact that he calls it a "system of sociology," that he treats economics by the broadly sociological method of the German "historical" school of economists, and in his explicit declaration that "theoretical economics is . . . a part of sociology" (p. 9).

Taking his stand confessedly upon the grounds laid by "general sociology," Dr. Oppenheimer holds that the fundamental concept of sociology is the *group*. In studying group life it considers the behavior and conduct of human beings, but since this exhibits a *development*, sociology is defined as the science of *the social process*. But sociology, along with all other social sciences, takes over certain presuppositions from *psychology*. However, "if psychology forms the . . . foundation, the basement story, so to speak, of sociology, likewise social philosophy furnishes its superstructure, its roof or its dome. That is to say, sociology has to vindicate its ends and worth-judgments by means of practical philosophy." While sociology is thus a system of human ends, economics is held by Dr. Oppenheimer to be concerned only with means. Economics "takes the ends as given, and has nothing else to do than to show the best means for attaining them" (p. 9). One of the principal services of sociology to economics is to set forth the history of development leading to modern economic societies.

C. M. C.

ROADS TO SOCIAL PEACE. By EDWARD A. ROSS. The University of North Carolina Press, 1924, pp. 133.

Inter-group conflict is the main theme of the five essays comprising this book. Five types of such conflicts are discussed: sectionalism, sectarianism, nationalism, industrialism, and rural-urbanism. In each case an analysis is made of the conditions leading to strife, and helpful suggestions of a practical nature for increasing contacts and multiplying understanding are advanced. The author does not tackle race conflicts or the white-colored problems because he does not "know what is the 'road to peace' for intermingled color races."

THE CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST. By JOHN A. FITCH.
Harper & Bros., New York, 1924, pp. xiv+424.

This is one of the clearest expositions of the phenomena of unrest on the part of labor. Excessive hours, inadequate and uncertain income, industrial hazards and insecurity, repression by the opposition forces, and the general indifference on the part of government as manifested especially in its legislative and judicial functionings are of course all well-known specific contentions over which the struggle begins. Mr. Fitch, perfectly aware of this, does not content himself with a finely adequate discussion of these several phases of unrest. Rather he strikes deeper and with no little success reveals the causes of the state of mind for the general discontent reflected in both the worker's mind and face. A mass of opposition-thwarting organization and collective bargaining, the monotony of work due to specialization and the consequent loss of creative interest, and the definitely restricted status of the worker may be mentioned here as being particularly well discussed. The use of personal writings revealing the attitudes of labor and capital marks the book as one of special value.

M. J. V.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY.

By ROBERT E. PARK and ERNEST W. BURGESS. University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. xxi+1040, fourth printing.

As this book appears in its "fourth printing," it registers what has been a steadily increasing clientele. Its analysis of social processes into interaction, competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation represents a series of conceptual generalizations that have not been surpassed, if equaled, in revealing personal and social nature.

LAW AND MORALS. By ROSCOE POUND. University of North Carolina Press, 1924, pp. iii+156.

Law cannot depart far from ethical custom nor lag far behind it, and yet the mass of legal precepts today are anything but authoritative promulgations of ethical custom. They refer, however, to the leading form of social control. Dean Pound's treatment of his subject is historical, analytical, and philosophical.

A PRESENT-DAY CONCEPTION OF MENTAL DISORDERS.

By C. F. CAMPBELL, M. P. Harvard University Press, 1924, pp. 54.

In this lecture the author argues that mental ailments should be studied and talked about in the same unembarrassed way in which we talk of other ailments.

A HISTORY OF POLITICAL THEORIES, RECENT TIMES.

By Students of the late WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924, pp.xii+597.

This volume, edited by Charles Edward Merriam and Harry Elmer Barnes, is of extraordinary value for students in every branch of social science. An inviting range of topics is treated, showing the relations of political science to political philosophy, international law, jurisprudence, socialism, pluralism, social psychology, anthropology, and ethnology.

Students of sociology will find especially interesting Professor Barnes' essay on "Some Contributions of Sociology to Modern Political Theory;" Professor Gehlke's "Social Psychology and Political Theory"; Professor Goldenweiser's "Anthropological Theories of Political Origins"; Professor Thomas' "Some Representative Contributions of Anthropogeography to Political Theory"; and Professor Hankin's "Race as a Factor in Political Theory." The last-named presents an admirably broad and scholarly survey which leaves one, despite Professor Hankin's temperate treatment, aghast at the incredible prejudice and self-contradictions of practically all writers on racial questions.

C. M. C.

THE MYSTERY OF RELIGION. By E. D. MARTIN. Harper & Bros., 1924, pp. xii+391.

The author, approaching his subject neither from a theological nor any conventional religious point of view, but from an independent viewpoint, expands the idea that religion has been an attempt to escape from this world, an attempt to keep man happy while in the world, an attempted compensation for the misery that accompanies living in this world. The result has often been an otherworldly type of worship, a symbolism that has become a ritualism conventionally and persecutingly held to and demanded of its followers. Only a revival of interest in spiritual things can save the world, according to the author, and hence, he asks that people "repent of their fictions about themselves" and build up a new spiritual order.

THE NATURE OF LAUGHTER. By J. C. GREGORY. Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1924, pp. 241.

The author draws heavily upon the writings of many philosophers and literary men, and a few psychologists, chiefly McDougall, for his analysis of laughter. Some of the chapter headings are: Laughter and pleasure, laughter and society, laughter and instinct, laughter and repression. The treatment is largely deductive.

RACE HYGIENE AND HEREDITY. By HERMANN W. SIEMANS.
Translated by Lewellys F. Barker. D. Appleton & Company,
New York, 1924.

Dr. Siemans of Munich wrote this little treatise for use in Germany to give impetus to the "will to race hygiene." It is his belief that the future of Germany will depend largely upon its control of the biological heredity of its people. The theories of Mendel, Galton, and Weissmann are presented in a comprehensible manner for the general lay reader. The chapter on "Birth Polity" may be received with interest here in America, but its economic proposals are not likely to carry much favor. A state policy of rewards to healthy families with more than four children in the guise of reduced inheritance taxes and suitable land settlements will, I am afraid, be branded as very radical. An educational program including thorough instruction in general biology and race hygiene methods is also proposed.

M. J. V.

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INHERITANCE TAX.
By EUGENIO RIGNANO. Translated and adapted by William
J. Shultz. New York, 1924, pp. 128.

Professor Rignano proposes that the graduated principle of taxation of inheritance which applies now chiefly to amount of the inheritance and degree of relationship of the inheritor should be extended to the period or time at which the property was acquired. For example, property acquired by the individual's own exertions should not be taxed, but that inherited from others should be heavily taxed, reaching 100 per cent after two transfers. The tax should be paid in kind, thus securing a gradual but sure nationalization of wealth without revolutionary disturbance. The author finds a key to much social unrest in the iniquities inherent in the present property system.

E. F. Y.

ECONOMICS OF FATIGUE AND UNREST. By P. SARGENT
FLORENCE. Henry Holt & Company, 1924, pp. 426.

The author makes an exhaustive treatment of the loss to industrial efficiency caused by fatigue and unrest, in labor turnover, in absence from work, in deficiency of output, in defective output, in industrial accidents, in sickness, in business costs. While the emphases are on the loss to employer rather than on the loss to employees, on results rather than causes, and on values rather than attitudes, the book will serve to impress both employers and economists that fatigue and unrest are among the leading industrial problems.

THE ST. LOUIS CHURCH SURVEY. By H. PAUL DOUGLASS.
George H. Doran Company, New York, 1924, pp. xxi+327.

This survey is an attempt to answer a number of questions which the churches in any American city must consider. The methods were devised with specific reference to immediate programizing on the part of the local Protestant churches and denominations concerned. Quite avowedly no pretense was made at a scientific study of the entire church problem in St. Louis because the Negroes, Catholics, and Jews were not included. The city was divided into twenty-three districts and each was graded on the basis of eleven social and nine religious criteria. While quantitative factors were used here, qualitative expressions have crept in quite freely, such as "good all around" and "bad all around." In addition to the data relating specifically to the churches there is brought together a considerable body of fact in the field of human geography which gives a background for the religious situation. The book uses a large number of tables and charts to present the data.

W. C. S.

ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION. By FRANK WATTS. D. Appleton & Company, 1924, pp. xxi+215.

Abnormal psychology is defined as "the science which deals with those marked aberrations of the human mind, whether individual or social, and whether temporary or permanent, which do not make for well-being." It deals with a larger range of phenomena than psychiatry and gives more attention to the intrusions of the subconscious, to the eccentric, the genius, the criminal, than does psychiatry. The author concludes the main part of this interesting but not well correlated discussion with the generalization that "the human soul is a battlefield upon which the irrational impulses of the personality strive with the rational and ethical interests of the personality for supremacy."

WOMEN AND LEISURE. By LORINE PRUETTE. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1924, pp. xxiv+225.

The author contends that the rearing of three or four children and keeping a home is only a part-time life work for women and hence that the present status of many women constitutes a phase of social wastage. The point of the author is sociological, with many of the references to theory referring to Professor Giddings' works. Questionnaire materials are submitted regarding "careers versus homes" for women, and "day dreams" of adolescent girls.

HUMAN ORIGINS. By GEORGE G. MACCURDY. D. Appleton & Company, 1924, Vol. I, pp. xxxviii+440; Vol. II, pp. xvi+516.

The first volume covers the Old Stone Age and the Dawn of Man and his Arts. It contains 254 illustrations and a glossary of twelve pages. Volume II deals with the New Stone Age and the Ages of Bronze and Iron. It has 156 additional illustrations, a stratiography of Paleolithic sites (117 pages), a repertory of Paleolithic art (40 pages), and 20 pages dealing with the location and preservation of prehistoric monuments.

The origin and development of the human species, and the development of human mentality and culture is here presented, scholarly and interestingly. Volume I might be called a book in Physical Anthropology, and Volume II, in Social Anthropology. The sociologist has a special interest in Volume II with its descriptions of the origins of culture. The style is descriptive and detailed rather than expository. The author describes "what has been found" with convincing exactness.

THE CRIMINAL AS A HUMAN BEING. By GEORGE S. DOUGHERTY. D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1924, pp. 290.

This book, which gives an insight into the ways and deeds of criminals of different kinds, is based largely upon the author's experience as a detective. The author regards the criminal as an ordinary human being and not as some peculiarly Lombrosan type. He states that much of his information while a detective was secured from the criminals themselves, and the only basis upon which it could be secured was through friendship, by treating them as human beings. The chapter on "The Humane Third Degree" is particularly interesting to the sociologist who is concerned in securing "life histories" through the confessional method.

W. C. S.

THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF MODERN LEGISLATION. By W. JETHRO BROWN. E. P. Dutton & Company.

This is the sixth edition of a book which points out that because of the pressure of social and economic problems, the democratization of our political machinery, and the growth in the sense of collective responsibility, there is a powerful movement toward State control, and that the main problem today is not how to thwart this movement but how to direct the movement "in such a way as to achieve legitimate ends without sacrificing the individuality of the citizen." The treatment is judicial and thoughtful.

THE INTELLIGENCE OF CONTINUATION-SCHOOL CHILDREN. By L. THOMAS HOPKINS, Harvard University Press, 1924, pp. xiv+132.

The author's painstaking investigations support the proposition that pupils leave school to go to work not primarily for the traditionally given reasons but because they do not have sufficient intelligence to do the things which the school required. This conclusion, however, is somewhat invalidated by the author's statement that he had not been able to convince his fellow school men of the truth of this proposition and so determined to get the needed facts. The author rightly condemns the school system that becomes a caste system and urges that everyone be given a full chance to be developed.

PRIMITIVE RELIGION. By ROBERT H. LOWIE. Boni & Live-right, New York, 1924, pp. xix+346.

The purpose of this book is to provide an introduction to further studies in the field of comparative religion. Part I is made up of synthetic sketches designed to give an insight into the religious life of four different groups. This is followed by a critique of the theories of animism, magic, and collectivism as set forth by Tylor, Frazer, and Durkheim. Part III lays stress on the psychological aspects of primitive religion. The book treats some of the subjects ordinarily found in discussions of religion, but there are several topics which have not found a place in the traditional treatises on religion.

W. C. S.

RACE PREJUDICE. By JEAN FINOT. Translated by Florence Wade-Evans. E. P. Dutton & Company, pp. xvi+320.

This book remains a work of hope as well as careful reasoning in support of the thesis that there are no inferior and superior races, but races living within or without various spheres of cultural influence. It would eliminate race prejudice, substituting therefor solidarity and a true equality founded on "a rational sentiment of respect for human dignity."

CHILD LABOR AND THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE. By DAVIS W. CLARK. The Abingdon Press, 1924, pp. 124.

In this "child labor primer" the problem of child labor is considered not only one of economics, but also of adolescence, hygiene, philosophy, and education; not only what is done to the child, but also what the child is deprived of.

Pamphlet Notes

RESULTS OF MINNESOTA'S LAWS FOR PROTECTION OF CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK. By MILDRED DENNETT MUDGETT. Bureau Publication No. 128, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, 1924, pp. 55.

Minnesota's illegitimacy legislation has attracted wide attention because it embodies the latest developments in social philosophy on that problem and because it represents a comprehensive, state-wide program for dealing with it. Powers of guardianship are assigned to a State Board of Control; this board supervises local child-welfare boards supported by such counties as request their establishment. The task of fitting the mother and child into the social order remains ultimately with the community itself and requires the intelligent services of that community itself as well as those of the two boards. Hence the problem is clearly one of popular education.

THE MONGOL IN OUR MIDST. By F. G. CROOKSHANK. E. P. Dutton & Company, 1924, pp. 124.

The author develops a theory of the three-fold origin of the human race: the white or Caucasian as a descendant of the chimpanzee; the black or Negro, of the gorilla; and the yellow man or Mongolian is an intermediate who has descended from the orang-outang. The argument is interesting but not convincing.

THE FINANCIAL FEDERATION MOVEMENT. By HARVEY LEEBRON. University of Chicago, 1924, pp. 94.

Presents facts regarding the operation of the community chest in 150 American cities and arguments favorable and unfavorable to the movement with conclusions favorable to it.

CHILD LABOR ON THE STAGE IN SAN FRANCISCO. By JUVENILE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, San Francisco, 1924, pp. 30.

Nine important conclusions adverse to child labor on the stage are presented and three recommendations are made. Hampering police courts, violations of the child labor law, wrong attitudes toward children are emphasized as causal factors.

Periodical Notes

The Underlying Issue of the Occident. Three claimant voices are heard today, the economic voice, the religious reform voice, and the political reform voice, but the compelling voice for Unity remains soft and unheard. Victor Branford, *Sociological Review*, Oct., 1924, pp. 300-316.

Guillaume De Greef. Among De Greef's main contributions were his analysis of Comte's classification of sociology into seven sub-divisions, and his "law of limitation," i. e., the limitation of thesis by antithesis. René Worms, *Revue Intern. de Sociologie*, Sept.-Oct., 1924, pp. 249-51.

Social Images versus Reality. In studying the complexes of the individual the psychopathologist must awaken to his wider function as a clinical sociologist and seek to discover the origin of the complexes of the individual versus his social adaptation. Trigant Burrow, *Jour. of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Oct.-Dec., 1924, pp. 230-35.

The Crime and Trial of Loeb and Leopold. What was lacking in Loeb and Leopold was not emotions, *per se*, but sentiments, i. e., the organization of emotions with objects and ideas by experience. They were theoretically abnormal probably though fully responsible for their crime. Editorial, *Jour. of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Oct.-Dec., 1924, pp. 223-29.

Home Life for the Aged. We frequently think of the aged as desiring a serene, uneventful life, such as can be provided in an institution. But their chief desires are: (1) not to be set apart; (2) to manage their own affairs; (3) to remain where they have been living; (4) to continue as nearly as possible with their accustomed work. These represent established social habits: the results of a sifting of human experience. They are the qualities painfully elaborated by civilization as the foundation of organized society. Homer Folks, *Survey*, Oct. 15, 1924, pp. 71-72.

La Ouse du Logement. Housing problems arise partly from the great inequality in the distribution of housing accommodations. Some have so much more than they need; others so much less. Charles Gide, *Revue Intern. de Sociologie*, Sept.-Oct., 1924, pp. 452-464.

International Problems and Political Philosophy. The world war proved the inter-relation of modern states, which are merely parts of a larger system in many of their functions. Our old conceptions of sovereignty, therefore, must be modified. C. Delisle Burns, *Contemp. Rev.*, Oct., 1924, pp. 479-85.

Justification for Legal Minimum Wage. The wise social policy is to free business from the temptation of making easy savings where economy serves no other purpose than to depress what the community has come to regard as irreducible standards of living. Leo Wolman, *Amer. Labor Legis. Rev.*, Sept. 1924, pp. 226-233.

Socialized Leadership. Emphasis needs to be placed at present on leaders as group builders. These are constructive leaders, endeavoring to encourage their fellows toward social accomplishment. We need to study their technique of organization, systematization, and deputization. F. Stuart Chapin, *Jour. of Soc. Forces*, Nov., 1924, pp. 57-60.

"Things are in the Saddle." Men subscribe to what they call the "economic interpretation of history." Today the force of things which they have developed, the industrial force, may indeed be regarded as having the dominion over men; they may be regarded as cogs in the great machine they themselves chose to build. Samuel Strauss, *Atlantic Monthly*, Nov., 1924, pp. 577-588.

Social Work and Societal Engineering. When we rationally do things to or for our fellow beings, we are trying to realize visualized ends. After long pursuit of these primary ends, secondary ends, called "values," are slowly visualized and begin to influence conduct. They result in organization and work upon and for individuals, restraining, disciplining, and reconditioning them. This is social work. It becomes societal engineering when scientific principles are accepted and applied. Franklin H. Giddings, *Jour. of Soc. Forces*, Nov., 1924, pp. 7-15.

Is There a Natural Law of Inequality? It is fallacious to conclude there is a natural law of inequality merely because no two things are found alike. The fallacy lies in using "variety" and "inequality" interchangeably. Variation is a fact, but inequality depends on some standard of comparison. Ira Woods Howerth, *Sci. Monthly*, Nov., 1924, pp. 502-11.

The People's College of Denmark. In this college there are no admission, examination, or credit requirements. The aim is to awaken, enlighten, and enliven, based on the principle that an awakened, enlightened spirit will go on of itself. If it feels the need of exact information it will seek it. If it possesses the quality of leadership it will exercise that quality. Mrs. John C. Campbell, *Playground*, Oct., 1924, pp. 400-04, 436, 437.

The Church of Tomorrow. The church of tomorrow will be: (1) a united church, free from the crime of sectarianism; (2) a community church, representing unity in spirit and a more practical faith; (3) a service church, translating theology in terms of life; (4) an efficient church, avoiding the wastes of forces and money which result from present divisions within itself. G. Frank Burns, *Christian Union Quar.*, Oct., 1924, pp. 190-92.

The College and World Peace. The college is an apostle of truth, of fellowship, and of unity, because those who work in it are constantly face to face with the fact that truth is universal. The college must give this fellowship of unity a momentum. It can never be over-emphasized that social philosophy, even if viewed merely from the side of self-interest, proves the stupidity of war. J. H. T. Main, *Religious Education*, Oct., 1924, pp. 331-36.

La Religion démocratique. Religions may be classified by the dogmatist as false or true, by the evolutionist as more or less true, or by the social psychologist as imperialistic, individualistic or democratic. Religion becomes democratic when a man recognizes that God may speak differently to him and to his neighbor, when those who accept the democratic organization of human society see in it the will of God for men and recognize that the more they serve their kind the greater communion they have with God. Christianity is not yet a democratic religion, but of all existing world religions it holds the greatest possibilities for realizing that ideal. W. A. Brown, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, Juillet-Août, 1924, pp. 339-351.

Social Drama Notes

MAN AND THE MASSES. By ERNST TOLLER. Translated by Louis Untermeyer. Doubleday, Page & Company, 1924.

THOSE interested in the study of mental reactions, in the creation of social attitudes, and in the nature of the mass mind can hardly afford to miss reading Ernst Toller's *Masse Mensch*, translated superbly by Louis Untermeyer, under the title of *Man and the Masses*. This poetic drama was written within the confines of a small cell in the prison of the Fortress of Niedershönerfeld to which the author had been sentenced for five years because of his participation in the Bavarian revolution. He states that the main springs of the action "fairly burst" forth in two and a half days spent in his dark cell of abyssmal misery.

The play is an intensive study, a searching inquiry one may say, of the conflicting factors of society, the individual and the mass. Here is a fine portrait of the individual, in this case a woman, standing out against the superpower of the State, the absoluteness of capitalistic control, the herd call for revolution. She becomes a martyr to her convictions that no just cause can ever be justifiably won at the expense of human life. Three of the seven scenes are ultra symbolic, representing projections of the woman's mind and as such are of especial interest to the student. The blindness of the rage of man in the throes of the industrial machine is vividly pictured in such lines as these:

Machinery herds us all like beasts in stockyards
Machinery clamps us all in its metal vise
Machinery pounds our bodies day by day
And turns us into rivets — screws
Withers our eyes, eats up our fingers
While bodies go on living. . . .

The opposing views of the mass are seen in the following:

Mass is revenge for the wrongs of centuries
Mass is revenge.

Mass should be a band of loving brothers
Mass should be a firm community.

The play has already been performed in every large European city, translated into eight languages, and is about to be performed in Japan. Toller is a creator whose future work will be watched with interest.

M. J. V.

Social Work Notes

SOCIAL service in an international sense is belatedly attracting attention. The fact that social problems are often similar the world around calls for the development of world conferences and activities. The work of the International Migration Service deserves special mention as an important type of international social service.

EARLY diagnosis and prophylactic treatment of behavior difficulties seems to have reached the stage of accepted social work procedure. The work of the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago, the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, and the Child Guidance Clinics, recently established in Los Angeles, under the joint auspices of the Commonwealth Fund and the National Society for Mental Hygiene, have shown the way. They are bringing the ideal of preventive social work measurably closer to realization.

SELF-EXAMINATION is occurring with increasing frequency among social welfare agencies. Many of them are no longer content with the results they are securing and are seeking to determine how large a return they are securing. This critical attitude augurs well for the future of social work as a profession. For this reason, if no other, the studies sponsored by such organizations as the National Information Service and the Institute of Social and Religious Research, indicate possibilities which forward looking organizations will welcome.

THE "COMMUNITY" is attracting increasing interest as a unit, both for study purposes and for social welfare enterprises. Modern cities are in reality collections of contiguous villages and towns, more or less closely bound together. The arbitrary way in which the political boundary lines have been drawn within the city has frequently served to make impossible the expression of truly local sentiments and interests. Re-discovery of the natural social areas and their utilization by social scientists and social workers will go a long way toward the reorganization of metropolitan communal life.